Studies in Medieval History and Culture

NETWORKING IN LATE MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE

FRIENDS, FAMILIES, FOES

Edited by
Beata Możejko, Anna Paulina Orłowska and
Leslie Carr-Riegel

Networking in Late Medieval Central Europe

Exploring the formation of networks across late medieval Central Europe, this book examines the complex interaction of merchants, students, artists, and diplomats in a web of connections that linked the region. These individuals were friends in business ventures, occasionally families, and not infrequently foes. No single activity linked them, but rather their interconnectivity through matrices based in diverse modalities was key. Partnerships were not always friendship networks, art was sometimes passed between enemies, and families were created for financial gain. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the chapters focus on inclusion and exclusion within intercultural networks, both interpersonal and artistic, using a wide spectrum of source materials and methodological approaches.

The concept of friends is considered broadly, not only as connections of mutual affection but also simply through business relationships. Families are considered in terms of how they helped or hindered local integration for foreigners and the matrimonial strategies they pursued. Networks were also deeply impacted by rivalry and hostility.

Beata Możejko (University of Gdańsk) is Professor of History specializing in medieval history and the auxiliary sciences of history; the author of other 150 papers, articles, and monographs, including "Peter von Danzig, The story of Great Caravel 1462–1475" (Brill 2020); member of the Bureau of Committee on Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences (2020–2023); and member of the Committee of Gdańsk Encyklopedia (Gedanopedia).

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Leslie Carr-Riegel received her doctorate in Medieval Studies from the Central European University in 2021. She has historically focused on waste management, medieval trade relations between Poland and Italy, and legal history, but is mostly dedicated to teaching the next generation of scholars. She has worked as a fellow with the Medici Archive Project, the Princeton Global History Project, and the Käte Hamburger Kolleg at the University of Münster.

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Edited by
Beata Możejko, Anna Paulina Orłowska and Leslie Carr-Riegel

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Introduction

Beata Możejko, Anna Paulina Orłowska and Leslie Carr-Riegel

This book stems from the Medieval Central Europe Research Network (MECERN) project, set up in 2014 by the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary. The project is defined as "a semi-formal interdisciplinary network of scholars, students and interested others, fostering research, and spreading knowledge of medieval Central Europe".[1] One of the things that MECERN does is to hold biannual conferences. The first of these, titled *A Forgotten Region? East Central Europe in the Global Middle Ages*, was put on in Budapest in 2014 by the CEU. The discussions at that time, which looked at this region in the context of the "global Middle Ages", delving into its cultural, political, religious, and economic ties, inspired the publication of two extensive volumes.[2] The next two conferences were held in 2016 in Olomouc[3] and in 2018 in Zagreb.[4] The fourth MECERN conference was organized by the University of Gdansk (Faculty of History and Faculty of Law and Administration), taking place on 7–9 April 2021 in an online format due to Covid pandemic restrictions. The working title of the conference was *Networks – Cooperation – Rivalry*.

Geographically, this book is not limited to Central Europe, but the region acts as a topographical starting point. Contacts that were inside and outside the region are a central focus of this volume, which comprises a wide variety of cross-regional, cross-cultural, and intercultural networks in a set of comparative studies. Organized into a series of case studies, each chapter uses qualitative analysis to approach network formation from a different perspective. The timeframe encompasses the Late Middle Ages, ranging from the fourteenth-to the early sixteenth-century. The concept of friends is considered broadly, as friends who were connected by mutual affection but also simply through business relationships. Families, meanwhile, are considered in terms of how they helped or hindered local integration for foreigners and the matrimonial strategies they pursued. Networks were also deeply impacted by rivalry and here foes come to the fore. Hostility could stem from religions, politics, and economics and these frequently interrelated themes are explored.

Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the chapters in this volume focus on inclusion and exclusion within intercultural networks, both interpersonal

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and artistic, using a wide spectrum of source materials and methodological approaches. The first part is dedicated to the networks built by immigrants. It starts with the analysis of student networks in Italy, focusing on students coming from Poland. With the next chapter analysing the presence of Italians in Poland, the spotlight shifts to economic-driven immigration. The following chapters, examining different geographical regions, answer the following questions: What were the reasons of merchants coming to foreign cities, and how did they organize their lives there? What made them decide to settle in these cities and how did they build their businesses? How much did it affect their family life? Was there any matrimonial policy? Further chapters move beyond the economic sphere and explore how intellectual relationships were built, how important diplomatic players interacted and manipulated situations, and finally focuses on the field of art and artistic transfer. Delved into are questions about whether networks affected artistic relations in art. What role did artists play in all of this? Did the patterns of shaping art permeate through the relationships of artists? Where did similarities come from and where did the differences in artistic expression come from?

This book encompasses 12 unique studies dealing with different types of networks which spanned Central-Eastern Europe during the High Middle Ages? In Chapter 1, Anna Horeczy's work delves into the network of Polish students who travelled to Italy to attend University between 1370 and 1470. During that period, she has identified 90 Polish individuals who made the journey to the peninsula, half choosing to study at the great Alma Mater in Bologna, with the rest dedicating their studies in Padua, Rome, Ferrara, Perugia, and Siena. Her findings show that those who travelled to Italy had frequently studied previously in Crakow, Prague, or another German University but chose to complete their work on the peninsula under famous masters. Rather than the universities themselves, Polish students were attracted to the prestigious professors who taught in Italy, studying primarily Canon law, Roman law, and medicine. Once matriculated, numerous Poles became rectors and vice-rectors at Italian universities and there appears to be a strong correlation between their earlier studies in Central Europe and success abroad. They also appear to have been well-integrated into the local student life, witnessing at the exams of not only other Polish students, but also Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, and Italians. Horeczy clearly tracks the importance of personal contacts between these students and former graduates in their success in entering University and in their later careers. Friendships and connections made during schooling frequently enabled Polish graduates to garner high ecclesiastical office both in Poland and within the Roman Curia. Others, meanwhile, went on to teach or entered the royal administration. University networks, thus, extended from Italy to Poland, engendering success for those who completed their studies abroad.

Also looking at Italian connections to Poland, in Chapter 2, Leslie Carr-Riegel relays the life and times of Pietro Bicherano, a Venetian merchant

who migrated to Poland in the early fifteenth-century. By accessing primary documents from Venice, Florence, Poland, and Germany, she traces the path of this enterprising individual. During his life, Pietro played many roles: warrior, clerk, merchant, absentee husband, royal ambassador, doting uncle, debtor, and wealthy entrepreneur. Through his trade and ambassadorial activities, he connected Venice with Nuremburg, Wrocław, and Krakow. He worked as an agent for the famous Kress and Rummel companies of Nuremberg and had extensive dealings with the Medici Bank. While he traded in dye, cloth, and silver, his primary occupation in Poland was the management of the Krakow salt mines. He was also called upon to act as ambassador to the king of Poland by both the Florentine Republic and the Venetian Senate. Yet, for all his success, Pietro's life holds a number of oddities. After voyaging abroad, he appears to have never returned home, leaving behind forever his wife and four children. He lived the last 20 years of his life in Krakow yet resided always in rented rooms, never took up burgher citizen status, remaining in documents always only and ever, Venetian. Pietro Bicherano was assuredly an exceptional individual, yet his life shows the growing connections between East Central Europe and Italy at the turn of the fifteenth-century.

Chapter 3 then moves from the biography of an individual to a sideways approach that explores the lives of others through the traces left behind by a single person. Anna Paulina Orłowska delves into the story of merchants who established themselves in fifteenth-century Gdansk by examining the town registers from both Torun and Gdansk and more notably by reading between the lines of the account book left by the merchant Johan Pyre. This unique source, which chronicles Pyre's 35-year career as a prosperous long-distance trader based in Gdansk between 1421 and 1455, reveals much under Orłowska's careful analysis. By looking into Pyre's interactions with the broad assortment of merchants he trafficked with, she identifies the varied strategies different groups used when seeking to establish business networks within the city. Merchants from Riga, as fellow members of the Hanseatic League, had a significant advantage and tended to favour a more traditional method of integration. A son of a wealthy family would start a company of an established merchant and after securing his position, would, in time, hand over the business to a younger brother and return to Riga to take his place amongst the city's governing elite or transfer permanently by marrying into a prosperous local family in Gdansk. Dutch merchants, who were also frequently coming from Hanse towns, were fewer in number in Pyre's records and were linked to him through silent partnerships or one-off trades so it is difficult to say much for certain as to their methods. Meanwhile, Englishmen who came from beyond the Hanse network were frequently mentioned and records show that they supported each other mightily. They regularly vouched for each other's creditworthiness, made contacts through the same landlords, and loaned out foreign currencies when establishing themselves but rarely married locals. Merchants from Vilnius, although

smaller in number, followed many of the same patterns as the English but were frequently charged higher rates. Traders from Nuremburg, on the other hand, were unique in that while few in number they specialized in long-distance banking transfers, primarily to Rome. A newcomer's success in Gdansk depended upon many factors: local contacts, language fluency, financial wherewithal, and the helpful mediation of one's compatriots.

Chapter 4 remains centred on urban integration but carries the story south, as Marija Karbić and Zrinka Nikolić Jakus together compare how marriage ties affected the power structure of urban communities between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea from the thirteenth to the sixteenth-century. While many ties bound urban units together, marriage was one of the most common ways for individuals and families entering a new community to integrate into existing social networks. By comparing this region, which rested at the juncture of two cultural zones – the Mediterranean and Central European – Karbić and Nikolić demonstrate the varying ways in which intermarriage promoted immigration and urban development. Individuals who were successful in marrying into established urban families were guaranteed, if not for themselves, then at least for their progeny, an important place in local administration. The sources show a distinct pattern of increasingly common marriages taking place between Dalmatian families who had dominated the region since Late Antiquity and newer Slavic arrivals. Thus, the local Croatian nobility of the surrounding hinterland sought to marry, for example, the daughters of the Zaratian urban elite. Ambitious new arrivals, many coming from the Italian peninsula, who sought business opportunities in the region, also married into local families and quickly climbed the ranks of the urban magistrates. These connections were at times so valuable to the success of the newcomer that husbands would take their wife's family name. Both daughters and, in particular, widows played a crucial role in solidifying the social status of a newcomer and women were frequently central in arranging marriage alliances. Immigrants, thus, leveraged the social standing and economic status of their new spouse and their family to promote themselves and their children to success by integrating themselves into their new community.

Chapter 5 of this work takes a literary turn. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz's article deconstructs the language used in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century town books of the city of Old Warsaw to uncover the perceptions and interactions between various ethnic and religious groups at the time. By analysing the personal denominations used in the city's bench court registers and municipal council registers, she explores how various groups fit into the mental framing of the scribes who recorded documents and the participants in events. The sources used present a wide range of social classes and ethno-religious affiliations, including: Poles, Jews, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Germans. Bartoszewicz points out that while oral proceedings were held in Polish and German, the city's written records were kept primarily in Latin until the 1570s–1580s. The language of power was, thus, separated from that

of the everyday but the two shared a mutual influence. Bartoszewicz takes special note therefore of the moments when vernacular sneaks through as indicative of the surrounding linguistic and cultural milieu. Ethnic and religious affiliations were confirmed in the records primarily through the addition of "nicknames" to individuals, marking them variously as: *Judeus*, *Almanus*, *Ruthenus*, *Lithwanu*s, *Bohemus*, *Armenius*, or *Italus*. She discusses how a change in the status of Jews, in particular, can be noted over the 100-year period, by the increased use of terms such as *infidelis*, *perfidus,* or simply "a Jew". These changes occurring just as other documents demonstrate relations with the Christian population were deteriorating. She counsels caution, however, when interpreting such titles as *Almanus, Ruthenus,* or *Litwanus*, as she demonstrates that they can represent not only origin or linguistic capacity, but also religious affiliation or family lineage.

Moving from the urban milieu to a royal one, in Chapter 6, Přemysl Bar takes a deep look into the canny diplomacy of Sigismund of Luxembourg as he navigated a path between Poland-Lithuania and the Teutonic Knights. Bar adds a new facet to the debate regarding Sigismund's political cunning, approaching the question of whether he pursued a comprehensive strategy or simply responded to events. By looking at the case study of his arbitration between Poland and Lithuania, the Teutonic Knights that ran from 1412 to 1420, Bar analyses Sigismund's diplomatic acumen. Bar describes in detail Sigismund's relationship with the two polities and his more personal interactions with its leaders, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order on one side and King Władysław Jagiełło of Poland and Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania on the other. Bar concludes that Sigismund never truly believed the conflict could be successfully reconciled and so sought constantly to put himself in the best possible position between the two polities. When Sigismund faced opposition in Bohemia, he leaned towards the Teutonic Knights who could best aid him, but their defeat in 1410 at the battle of Grunwald maybe an alliance with Poland-Lithuania more enticing. Bar demonstrates that overall, Sigismund showed in his diplomatic language, greater partiality and respect for King Władysław Jagiełło, addressing him as a royal equal and meeting with him personally several times. Yet, he remained equally willing to ally himself with the Teutonic Knights if it suited his purposes of the moment. Indeed, Sigismund sought to ally himself with both on various occasions with the final aim of creating a broad Central-Eastern European alliance against the encroaching Ottomans.

Chapter 7 continues in the vein of royal politics as Aleksandra Stanek explores the place of the Jagiellonian Dynasty at the Nineteenth Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The assembly, held in Barcelona in 1519, brought together some of the most illustrious knights of the period, and stood as a staging ground for the election of the soon to be Holy Roman Emperor Charles I Habsburg. As part of the festivities, the coats of arms of knights of the Order were emblazoned on the backrests of the choir of the Cathedral of Barcelona, where they remain in situ to this day. The arms

displayed included multiple members of the Jagiellonian dynasty, a move which, when placed within the larger social and political context of this event, achieves historical significance. Founded in Burgundy in 1430, the Order of the Golden Fleece had become, by the sixteenth-century, one of the most premiant knightly honours in Europe, and a powerful tool of international politics. King Louis II was the first Jagiellonian to be inducted into the Order in 1515. Four years later, for the XIX assembly, the highly elaborated Jagiellonian coat of arms of Louis II was placed in a point of honour between that of the Francis I, the King of France, and Jaques de Luxemburg, the Count of Gavere. This, Stanek argues, signalled Charles I Habsburg's attempt to curry favour in his bid for election to the Imperial throne which would take place in 1520. In a last-minute addition, Sigismund I Jagiellon's arms were also added to the choir upon his surprise nomination to the Order. This again, Stanek suggests, demonstrates Charles I's attempt at an alignment with the Jagiellonians. Thus, while neither Louis II nor Sigismund I attended the assembly in person, their political weight was capitalized upon in absentia through this elaborate armorial display. This was perhaps successful, as Charles I was indeed elected Emperor the following year.

Chapter 8 brings religious officials to the fore as Anu Mänd investigates from an art-historical perspective, the histories of fourteenth-sixteenth-century Livonian bishops, uncovering more about these individuals through works commissioned by them or erected in their memory. Her exploration includes not only works from Livonia itself, but also others found in Germany, Scandinavia, and Rome. Given that Livonian bishops frequently resided outside of their sees, many of their tombs were located abroad, including in the Franciscan St. Catherine's Church in Lübeck, the Basilica of our Lady in Trastevere and Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome. Apart from tombs, she traces two doorside stones (Ger. Beischlagsteine) gracing the main building of the University of Rostock in Germany, and a bell in the tower of Veksø Church in Denmark, associated with Livonian bishops. By tracing the visual motifs, heraldry, and inscriptions used in these works, Mänd demonstrates the bishop's broad network of connections to the papal court, monastic orders, and secular authorities. The final work discussed is a cope from Fogdö Church in Sweden, which originally belonged to John Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but was later owned and embellished by Bishop Johannes Münchhausen of Ösel-Wiek and Courland. These works demonstrate the often-complicated object biography such visual sources present, which through careful analysis can reveal connections that are otherwise absent from written sources.

Chapter 9 follows the unconventional life of a work of art as Beata Purc-Stępniak uncovers the multilayered connections between the Last Judgment altarpiece painted by Hans Memling, Renaissance Humanists, Italian high financiers, and artistic currents stretching from Naples to Krakow to Bruges. She traces the altar's initial commission for the Badia di Fiesole near

Florence from the Florentine artist Rogier van der Weyden by members of the Medici Bank based in Bruges to its eventual completion by Memling. Using a careful art-historical approach, Purc-Stępniak demonstrates the importance of the region encompassing today's Switzerland and Northern Italy in the transmission of *ars nuovo.* She identifies the many theological themes presented in the altarpiece, which were heavily influenced by philosophical discussions current in the humanist circles travelled in by both the commissioners and artists involved with the work. In particular, she argues that the thoughts of Nicholas Cusa which sought to express theological concepts through geometry and mathematical expressions impacted the work. She further connects the altarpiece to the vibrant humanist discussions and new artistic patterns which were promoted by the mixing of learned individuals at the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1431–1445). Finally, she traces how the work influenced others who came after, as trade routes pushed humanist ideas and artistic expression across the continent, including the works of Martin Schongauer, Zanetto Bugatto, and Albrecht Dürer.

Keeping the focus on art history, in Chapter 10, Andrzej Woziński explores the artistic exchange that occurred across the narrow northern strip of Prussia between Gdansk and Königsberg, during the late fifteenth-and early sixteenth-centuries. Using an art-historical lens, he tracks the flow of artists and their works between Königsberg, the capital of the Teutonic Order after their loss of the 13-year war, and the cities newly incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland – Gdansk, Elbląg, and Braunsberg. Gdansk was, by far, the largest exporter of art and artists in the region, primarily moving towards the West, but in a few cases also traceable as far as Lithuania and Finland. Despite the political divide, artists from Gdansk, most notably the painter Stephano and the sculptor Master Pawel, found work in Königsberg. Archival records indicate that goldsmiths from these two cities attended each other's fairs and the movement of these and other types of artisans between the two was likely common place. Elbląg too generated numerous artists and works that were commissioned for Königsberg and smaller centres in the vicinity of Braunsberg. Between Königsberg and Braunsberg directly, there is less evidence of exchange but records turn up at least one sculptor named Hans who plied his trade in Braunsberg during the years 1508-1510. In general, it appears likely given the fact that most of the artworks discussed were destroyed or disappeared after 1944, that far greater evidence of artistic exchange in this region would have been traceable had WWII not proven so destructive.

Widening the debate over artistic exchange, in Chapter 11, Tomasz Torbus dives deep into the long debated historical connection between Prussian Crusader architectural forms and the Islamic and Byzantine Cultures in the Middle East. Seeking to move beyond the usual two-dimensional East-West orientalist approach, he acknowledges the many different cultural and religious traditions that inhabited these two traditional spheres. He offers numerous examples of specific types of defensive architecture,

including machicolations and so-called Tali, whose genesis can be traced to Arab models. He then complicates the orientalist historiographic narrative that dominated the nineteenth-and twentieth-centuries in both Germany and Poland regarding Teutonic architecture by examining three aspects commonly cited as having been adopted from the "East". First, the regular square plan castrum-type castle-monastery of the Teutonic Knights; second, latrine towers, called *Danzk*; and third, motifs and wall decoration techniques with glazed or clinkered bricks. He argues that the square castle plan was influenced by a number of factors but can be nowhere pinned to a single origin. Rather, the ubiquity of the Teutonic square castle plan for the Order is a true innovation. The *dansker* or toilet tower which was connected to the main castle by a *parcham* – a porch arcade – he argues was likely influenced in some measure by forms seen by Crusaders in the East, but only further research and more secure dating will allow for concrete conclusions. Finally, the use of colourful geometric patterns in the glazed bricks of Teutonic castles may, indeed, have been in some small measure influenced by eastern models of Byzantine and Islamic art but the technique itself arrived in Prussia via Denmark or Northern Germany. Torbus admits that the final question that continues to plague theories of an Oriental origin for techniques, technologies, and styles is that of transmission, which remains an open inquiry that more research will hopefully close.

The book closes with the final twelfth chapter as Sabina Madgearu uses an art-historical approach to identify a network of castles/walled towns spread across Late Medieval Europe and the Middle East by analysing illuminations contained in a corpus of fifteenth-century French chronicles and travel accounts. Examining the source base from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective, she investigates the evidence of two religious networks through the representation of key event points in the chosen narratives and Christian iconography. The identified western network was embodied by: Lisieux, Bayeux, Evreux, Rouen in Normandy, plus Paris and Vézelay; the eastern network was incorporated by: Jerusalem, Constantinople, Acre, Antioch, Damietta, Nicaea, Tunis, Ascalon, Jaffa, Tyre, Springs of Cresson, and Fonts Marets; and an offshoot to the southeast was represented by Crete, Rhodes, Nicopolis, Nissa/Nish, and Belgrade. Madgearu argues that the emergence of these sites represented the traces of pilgrim paths in both the west and the east taken by travellers across Europe. Statistically, most of the places which appeared to be represented in the sources were bishoprics or archbishoprics while others, such as Nazareth, Acre (in the Near East), Lisieux, and Soissons, stood as obvious sites defending the network of faith. The illuminations studied show a combination of thematic elements depicting miracles and departures on crusade or ornamentation such as crosses, cathedrals, or holy individuals, marking sites in the network of faith and representing an interlocking of temporal and religious authority.

This volume mirrors the unique character of MECERN as an opportunity for researchers from different disciplines to meet and reflect on the

problems specific to Central Europe. The twelve papers that make up this volume constitute a multifaceted perspective combining a wide variety of methodological approaches while remaining in constant discourse due to the systematic focus on the research topic. They present the strategies for developing networks not only through positive factors such as connections between friends, partners, and family members but also through negative factors such as rivalry, enmity, and hostility.

*

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Notes

1 https://www.mecern.eu/ (accessed: 20 June 2022), where it is stated that MECERN currently has over 250 registered members.
2 *Medieval East Central Europe in Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (New York: Routledge, 2016); *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe. Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder, and András Vadas (New York: Routledge, 2019). Readers interested in understanding the concept of Central Europe and East-Central Europe are referred to these two books, and in particular to the definitions provided in their respective Introductions.
3 This conference was organized by two universities: those of Ostrava and Olomouc. Its guiding theme and title was: *Unity and Diversity of Medieval (Central) Europe. Social Order and Its Cohesive and Disruptive Forces.*
4 Titled *Between Three Seas. Borders, Migrations, Connections*, this conference was organized by the University of Zagreb in collaboration with the Croatian Institute of History. For the resultant publication, see *Between Three Seas: Borders, Migrations, Connections*, ed. Katalin Szende and Balazs Nagy, *East Central Europe* 47.1 (2020).

1 *Gaudeamus igitur in Bononia dum sumus*

A network of Polish students in Italy in the late Middle Ages

Anna Horeczy

The main aim of this chapter is to examine a network of Polish students in Italy in the late Middle Ages as an example of an intellectual network developed by foreigners arriving from another region, of different cultural backgrounds and from a different university organization (the universities of Prague and Cracow followed the Paris model).[1] In contrast to other groups of immigrants, their network was not built on marriages, but conditioned by the corporate university structure. This student network was also shaped by other extracurricular factors such as noble origin, assets and ecclesiastical dignities. I will address issues such as inequalities, official and informal contacts, and mechanisms of getting involved in the network and continuing networking. I will argue that in spite of the essentially similar curriculum in European universities, the stimulus for Poles to study law in Bologna or Padua was not only the prestige of the academic degree obtained there, but also the possibility of establishing contacts in order to carry out political, diplomatic or scientific activity or just to enhance their careers.

The research is based on primary sources such as university records of the Italian universities, teaching rolls and an edition of the archival sources collected by Andrea Gloria, *Bullarium Poloniae* (edition of the primary sources pertaining to Poland from the Papal Curia), and university records from Prague and Cracow. The complementary information about Poles studying in Italy comes from cathedral chapter acts, orations and notes on manuscripts.[2]

This chapter will cover the period between the late 1370s and the 1470s. The earlier years are connected with the first sources relating to the University of Bologna (*Liber secretus iuris pontifici* begins in 1377 and *Liber secretus iuris caesarei* in 1378) and, as is also the case with Padua, the presence of Polish students becomes more visible from that time onward.[3] The latter years are connected with the *Bullarium Poloniae* (in which the last document dates from 1471), and this time correlates with the symbolic end of medieval culture in Poland.[4]

Universities, as communities of professors and students, possessing their own laws and autonomy, carrying out a specific programme of instruction and conferring universally recognized academic degrees, constituted an extremely important institution of social life in medieval Europe. One of the

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first universities in Europe and one of the most important centres of legal studies was in Bologna, which became a model for Padua and other Italian universities. The presence of Poles at these universities is already confirmed from the thirteenth century.[5] In the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, Polish students continued to arrive in Italy for academic pursuits, even though they had universities at their disposal closer to home, such as in Prague (from 1348), Cracow (1364–1370 and from 1400), Vienna (from 1365) or Leipzig (from 1409).

On the one hand, Polish student contact networks in Italy during 1377–1471 encompassed relations in the place where they were studying: with professors, other students, personnel working for the university, residents of the city (especially the clergy), civil law notaries and merchants giving loans.[6] On the other hand, contacts with the national community, including patrons and clients, were an important element of the network. Polish canons and prelates studying in Italy were in regular contact with chapters, which financed their foreign studies and defined their terms (duration and specific university), and also ordered business to be taken care of in the Roman Curia.[7] The phenomenon of mobility also influenced the network of contacts in Italy. Polish students leaving one centre of learning for another did not definitively sever contact with the former, as shown by the example of Andrew Łaskarzyc (c. 1362–1426), who, studying in Padua, had to settle his finances in Bologna.[8]

Polish students within the structure of Italian universities

Over 90 Polish students attending Italian universities have been identified in the period discussed. Around half of them studied in Bologna, the next most numerous group (around 25) in Rome and Padua. Of much lesser significance to the studies of Poles and the student networks they built were the universities in Ferrara, Perugia and Siena, where individual Polish students are noted in this period.[9] During this entire period in Bologna, the number of Polish students was distributed evenly, while they studied in Rome from the 1430s onward, and in Padua mainly during 1379–1422 and 1438–1449.[10] Concurrently, some of them (over 20 have been identified) studied in at least two Italian cities.[11]

These numbers are no doubt an underestimation, since the Italian sources mainly allow for the identification of graduates (56) and students filling the role of rector or vice-rector (16), while these two groups often overlap.[12] Irregular samples, probing in character, indicate that behind each Polish graduate in Italy, most often stood several of his friends who did not obtain any degree. For example, at the private exam in canon law of John Lasocki (c. 1420–1449) in Padua on 16 May 1447, two Poles appeared as witnesses who did not obtain academic degrees there.[13]

The position of Polish students within the framework of the social network at Italian universities depended on their chosen major. If they studied

liberal arts and medicine, then in Bologna and Padua they belonged to the university of artists and medics, and if law, then the universities of jurists.[14] Nevertheless, social connections sometimes went beyond the formal associational structures. Poles studying law in Padua in the 1380s appeared as witnesses at exams in the liberal arts and medicine, at which the supervisors were the professors of medicine, the brothers Marsilio (c. 1338–1405) and Giovanni (1330–1389) di Santasofia.[15]

The choice of a major was often tied to social origin. Poles of a non-noble origin studied medicine. Over two-thirds of Poles, mostly of noble origin, studied canon law in Italy (several of them civil law as well). In Bologna and Padua, they belonged to the ultramontane university, and within its framework to the Polish nation.[16] Nations were the organizations associating students from similar geographic, ethnic and language areas, and they served to protect their interests during their studies in a foreign city.[17] At Roman universities, there was no division into nations, and it was a similar case with the university in Ferrara.[18] In Siena and Perugia during this period, the Polish nation did not exist as a student fraternity due to the lack of an adequate number of Polish students to form their own representation.[19]

In order to study medicine or law in Italy, you did not have to possess a liberal arts degree, in contrast to universities of the northern type like Cracow. Despite this, most Poles came to study in Italy having completed studies in the faculty of arts, also often after having started studies in the faculty of law, mainly at universities in Cracow and Prague, and more rarely in Vienna, Erfurt and Leipzig.[20] As associations, Italian universities were open to students originating from various social classes, of various ages and of differing wealth. Despite this, relationships within the limits of the universities were not egalitarian. The noble origin of a student as well as his ecclesiastical dignities, written down in the university records, though not always in a consistent manner, influenced the associational contact network.[21] Professors demonstrated greater respect towards students of noble origin. When Wojciech of Borysławice of the coat of arms of Jastrzębiec (c. 1390–1431) passed the private exam in canon law (27 May 1422), he was then escorted home by members of the college of doctors of law. The reason given for such a distinction was his noble origin.[22]

Entering the university network

Entering the university network in Padua and Bologna in the institutional dimension meant incorporation into the appropriate nation, swearing an oath in front of the rector and making a payment.[23] It was, however, much more important to enter the network in the social sense. It made meeting people who were already well established in this environment easier. We can suppose that Peter Wysz of Radolin (c. 1354–1414) performed this role for Poles. A two-time rector of the ultramontane university in Padua (1379, 1385/1386) and doctor of both laws in Padua (1386), his studies paved the way for his career.

In 1388, as the envoy of the king of Poland Władysław II Jagiełło (c. 1362–1434), he participated in negotiations between the Poles and Teutonic Knights in Toruń, and then acted as an envoy to the Roman Curia, where he was designated as a papal referendary, and in 1389/1390 as the general collector for Poland and Hungary. In 1392, he became the bishop of Cracow, and in 1400, he became the first chancellor of the revived University of Cracow.[24] We can observe a group of students within his orbit: John of Lubień (?–1435), Abraham of Nowy Dwór (?–1410), Nicholas of Poland and Andrew Łaskarzyc.[25]

Another phenomenon that also eased entry into the student network were group arrivals.[26] Such groups, composed of several Poles, are noted in the case of Padua during 1379–1395, 1418–1422 and 1438–1448; in Bologna during 1413–1418, 1422–1425 and 1437–1438; and in Rome during 1447–1471, with particular intensity in 1465. Student contact networks also played a role in making the decision to depart for a foreign university, and then changing it for another centre. The Cracow professor of decretals, Stanisław of Skarbimierz (c. 1360–1431), complained in his rector's speech about the inconstancy of students who abandoned their newly funded studies in Cracow for Italian universities and drew others along with them. Having arrived in Padua, they wanted to go to Bologna straightaway, and from Bologna to Rome.[27]

In several cases, we can observe such shared trips: for example, Wojciech of Borysławice and his brother Philip (?–1447), who studied together in Bologna and jointly took the public exam in canon law (10 April 1424), or Poles present at university with their own servants, like Andrew Łaskarzyc in Padua in 1405 or Peter Gaszowiec (c. 1430–1474) in Perugia during 1452–1454.[28]

Polish students also took advantage of the help of Polish diplomats and curialists who knew the Italian environment. Nicholas Lasocki (c. 1380–1450), a Cracow dean and diplomat, who was at the Roman Curia several times as an envoy, supported Poles arriving for studies in Rome.[29]

Polish students who could not count on this type of support found themselves in a more difficult situation, like burgher Gregory Cieniawa of Mysłowice (c. 1414–1460/1461). In 1437, he went off to study in Bologna, equipped with a letter of recommendation from John Elgot (c. 1390/1398–1452), rector of the University of Cracow and professor of decretals. The letter was very formal, addressed to the professors of the universities in Bologna, Padua and Paris. John Elgot could not draw upon his own contacts in this recommendation. The lack of an appropriate network of contacts, combined with a poor financial situation, could have also interfered with the ability of Grzegorz to obtain an academic degree in Bologna. In 1439, he had to return to Cracow, where he obtained a doctorate in decretals.[30]

Student contact networks

Rectors and vice-rectors of Italian universities possessed particularly well-developed contact networks on account of their duties. People appointed to

this office were already well situated in the social network from the start. A candidate for the rector of the University of Jurists in Padua and Bologna had to belong to the clergy. In Padua, it was additionally required for the candidate for rector to have studied there for at least three years, while in Bologna, it was required that he be at least 25 years old.[31] In selecting for this office and for its duration, not only did networks developed during one's studies at a given Italian university have meaning, but so did earlier contacts. Among six Poles acting as rectors or vice-rectors during 1379–1415, four of them had completed studies in Prague.[32] After the Kutnohorsky Decree in 1409, the number of Poles studying in Prague dropped dramatically. Of the remaining ten Polish rectors at Italian universities during 1416–1471, three of them had earlier studied in Cracow, two in Vienna (one also in Erfurt), and for the remaining five, a place of earlier study could not be identified.[33] Studies at a different university also counted. Nicholas Kicki (c. 1380–1429), Gniezno archdeacon, as rector of the ultramontanes and citramontanes in Padua (1419), could refer to knowledge of the legal situation at the University of Bologna, where he had earlier studied. He also managed, thanks to his contacts there, to obtain privileges from the Papal Curia for Paduan students, analogous to those possessed by the Bolognese.[34]

Polish students in Padua appeared as witnesses at about a dozen exams of Italian and German students, as well as at individual exams of Silesian, Czech and Hungarian students (which resulted from the numerical advantage of Italian and German students).[35] Witnesses appearing at the exams of Polish students (besides Polish students) were Italian, German and Hungarian students.[36] On various occasions, Polish students appeared in the company of these same students of different nations.

As can be seen, Poles at Italian universities willingly appeared in the company of students who had completed their studies in Prague. Moreover, a similar academic and clerical career path could have connected Polish students with German, Czech and Hungarian students. These students taking up studies in Italy were often of a mature age (on average 20–35 years old), had completed studies at other universities and were members of the clergy.[37]

In choosing a university, Polish students were largely guided by the surnames of known professors. Attending the lectures of a given professor not only determined intellectual formation, but also secured entry into the network of contacts focused around him. We have the most information about lecturers in the cases of students who completed their studies with an academic degree. Students usually chose a professor as a supervisor whose lectures they had earlier attended. In the case of exams in law in Bologna and Padua, the supervisor could only be a member of the college of doctors of canon or civil law. However, the student could have earlier attended the extraordinary or private lectures led by doctors who did not belong to these colleges, or lectures led by student lecturers.[38]

Researchers attempting to identify professors under the direction of whom Poles studied at Italian universities have drawn attention to individuals who

led lectures stipulated for a given text in a given year.[39] In the case when a competitive system was in effect (as in Padua), the specific subject was taught by at least two professors at once, which hampered the identification of which one a given student was associated with. Furthermore, most often we do not know the exact time and course of the studies of Poles. Many of them studied in phases, taking breaks of several years or changing universities. Additionally, some of the Poles seeking academic degrees in Bologna obtained exemptions from the requirement to attend all of the statutory lectures, or to study for the period defined in statutes.[40]

Among the supervisors of Poles studying law in Italy were such eminent professors as Gaspare Calderini (1345–1399), Giovanni Oldrendi da Legnano (c. 1320–1383) and Angelo degli Ubaldi da Perugia (c. 1334–1407). But from the point of view of the network of contacts of Polish students, the greatest role was played by doctor of both laws Francesco Zabarella (1360–1417), cardinal of Florence from 1411. Starting in 1391 in Padua, he chaired the most prestigious department tied to the teaching of *Decretals*.[41] He was the supervisor of Abraham of Nowy Dwór, Lawrence Sachse of Wrocław (?–1417) and, *in absentia* – Andrew Łaskarzyc.[42] Paul Włodkowic (c. 1370–1436), a student of canon law in Padua during 1404–1408, and later a participant in the Council of Constance, author of the Polish doctrine of *ius gentium* and just war law, also acknowledged Zabarella as his master.[43]

Students living in the houses of professors had a special opportunity to develop relationships and to enter into the contact network, shown by the example of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), who was quartered with the prominent Paduan doctor of both laws, Prosdocimo Conti (c. 1370–1438).[44] Nicholas of Poland presumably lived in the home of the Paduan civil law expert Bartolomeo Capodivacca (first half of the fourteenth century to 1397/1398), since over the course of a few years he was twice a witness on a notary document drawn up in the home of that professor.[45] This fact surely eased Nicholas's acquisition of an academic degree.[46]

Among the contacts of Polish students, we can also distinguish members of the local clerical and lay elite. At the exams of Peter Wysz, Paduan canons as well as a representative of the local aristocracy, Ugolino Scrovegni, were present.[47] At the exam of Nicholas of Poland, Paduan canons also appeared as witnesses, as well as Count Basilio of the Colalto family, possessing manors in the Veneto region, who was also studying in Padua.[48]

The continuation of the student networks

Studies at Italian universities facilitated the establishment of contacts for Poles which could turn out to be useful in the future and accelerate their career. The prestige of universities in Bologna and Padua attracted ambitious students and gave them a chance to establish contacts with friends who already held important positions or who had a chance to attain them.

The mechanism of this phenomenon is revealed in a fictional, anonymous tale, known from fifteenth-century manuscripts, originating in Poland, about Giles (later the bishop of Cracow) and an unnamed Mainz bishop, studying together in Padua in the twelfth century. They made an agreement that the one who first obtained the highest ecclesiastical office would invite the other to join him and offer him support. When the Mainz bishop became pope, he invited Giles, elected as the bishop of Cracow, and presented him with the relics of St Florian.[49] Peter Wysz, who obtained a doctorate of both laws in Padua, and later was the bishop of Cracow (1392–1412), may have served as the inspiration for this story.[50]

Andrew Łaskarzyc took advantage of his close acquaintance with a friend from his law studies, the humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio (c. 1370–1444), in order to secure a position in the Roman Curia.[51] In a letter to Pope Innocent in July 1405, Vergerio listed the virtues of Andrew Łaskarzyc, but as his main argument he called upon his personal friendship with him.[52] The recommendation turned out to be effective; Łaskarzyc first obtained the title of *familiaris* (1 December 1405), and was later designated as a referendary, a prothonotary and a papal notary.[53] Networks from university days could be useful in a lay career. Lectures on astronomy led in Bologna by Martin Król of Żurawica (c. 1422–1453), who was studying there, could have influenced the decision for his employment as a court doctor for John Hunyadi (1385–1456).[54]

The network of contacts developed during studies in Italy was utilized by Poles in diplomatic activity, especially in the Polish-Teutonic conflict. The king's envoys to the Council of Constance were Polish lawyers educated in Italy: Poznań's bishop-elect Andrew Łaskarzyc, bishop of Płock James of Kurdwanów (c. 1350–1425) and rector of the University of Cracow Paul Włodkowic.[55] Additionally, also finding themselves in Constance, were Peter Wolfram of Cracow (before 1380–1428), licentiate of decretals educated in Padua and Bologna, and Mirosław of Brudzew (before 1375–1427), a Bolognian doctor of decretals as the envoy of the Gniezno chapter. Polish interests at the Council of Constance were defended by Simone da Teramo (1383/1388–1458), a consistorial lawyer who obtained a doctorate of both laws in Padua in 1410. Andrew Łaskarzyc, Paul Włodkowic and Peter of Lubstów (before 1395–1440) could have known him from studies in Padua. The intermediary between Simone da Teramo and the Poles could have been Cardinal Francesco Zabarella, who was also present at the council.[56]

Paul Włodkowic utilized his contacts to enlist Italian experts to prepare legal opinions to aid in challenging the verdict issued in Wrocław in 1420 by Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437), adjudicating the Polish-Teutonic conflict, which was unfavourable to Poland. Five of them were tied to the University of Padua: Prosdocimo Conti, Raffaele Raimondi (c. 1377–1427), Raffaele Fulgosio (1367–1427), Niccolò Ovetari (?–1427) and in part, Franchino Castiglioni (c. 1400–1462). Włodkowic may have studied under the direction of Prosdocimo Conti, who was also the supervisor of Andrew

Łaskarzyc. Other Poles studying at Italian universities may have advised Włodkowic on the selection of lawyers. We can presume that Włodkowic also utilized his own network of contacts developed during his studies.[57]

Conclusion

Social contacts constituted an unusually important aspect of the studies of Poles at Italian universities. The decision to study law in Italy and not in Cracow (from 1400) or in nearby Prague, in a situation where the curriculum was quite unified in Europe, resulted from the desire of studying under distinguished professors, which signified entry into their orbit. It allowed for presenting oneself as the student of a particular professor and building up one's own authority upon this. Poles studying at Italian universities found themselves among an elite group of students from various parts of Europe. Success was dependent on the proper entry into the informal social network at Italian universities, to which connections with people studying there or the support of patrons was helpful. Contacts established during Italian studies were useful later in taking care of matters in the Papal Curia, and played a lesser role in obtaining the office of bishop in the homeland – where chapters and the king had influence, though of course it made this easier, attested to by the case of Peter Wysz, bishop of Cracow. The network of contacts acquired during studies in Italy had a fundamental meaning for the effectiveness of the diplomatic activities of Poles, particularly in the Polish-Teutonic conflict.

Notes

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2 A Venetian merchant in Poland

The life and times of Pietro Bicherano

Leslie Carr-Riegel

On 24 July 1424, it was recorded in the city council book of Cracow that "*Petrus Pykaran hoc nocte defuncti*." A death so notable that it was considered worth enshrining forever in the city's official memory. This, despite the fact that the man in question never became a citizen, never held public office, and despite living in the kingdom for 18 years, remained a foreigner. Coming originally from Venice, Pietro Bicherano, who in Polish records appears as Petrus Pykaran, spent the second half of his life in the Kingdom of Poland, working as a merchant, financier, and manager of the lucrative Cracow salt mines. During his career, Pietro would rely on an elaborate network of relationships with merchants from Nuremberg, the Kingdom of Hungary, Cracow, Lviv, and the Italian peninsula. He took loans from the Medici bank of Florence and served for a time as the Venetian Ambassador to the king of Poland. His life stands as an excellent example of an Italian merchant who found success abroad in Central Eastern Europe. The following covers Pietro's life from start to finish, focusing on his formation in Venice, his family, the steps that lead him to immigrate to Poland, his life there, and the legacy he left behind.

Venetian beginnings

Pietro Bicherano was born around 1360, the son of Nicolo Bicherano, a wealthy but plebian citizen of Venice.[1] Pietro grew up in luxury, as his father was an extremely wealthy man. The Venetian *Estimo* (tax assessment) of 1379 recorded him as being worth 10,000 ducats, ranking him amongst the top 6% in the city and one of the four wealthiest men his family's home district of S. Bartolomeo.[2] Yet, the family's plebian status relegated them to the life of simple merchants, away from the echelons of power controlled by Venice's noble patriciate. For all that however, Pietro's father, Nicolo, appears to have been exceedingly patriotic, so that when the War of Chioggia broke out in 1378, he immediately joined in the city's defence. As Hungarian troops attacked Venetian holdings on the mainland and a Genoese fleet successfully invaded their home lagoon, Nicolo promised that his son would join the fight and financed crossbowmen and rowers for the galleys.[3]

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Nicolo may have come to regret his patriotic instincts, however, as the War of Chioggia lasted two years and saw an immense tax burden levied on the wealthiest strata of the city. Wealthy citizens such as Nicolo were asked to contribute beyond what they may have already promised, rising to 41% of their estimated wealth in the form of forced loans.[4] Yet there seemed little other choice, with Hungarian troops besieging Venetian holdings in the *terrafirma* and the confident Genoese promising to "bit and bridle the horses of San Marco," the citizenry opened their purses and the war continued. It was that, or allowing the Republic to fall. Thus, the old men spilled gold, the young men blood, and after numerous battles and a number of difficult moments, the war ended in 1381 with a surprising victory for the Venetians.

The war was a turning point in Venetian history leaving an indelible mark on the city's psyche. Invaders had broken the sanctity of the lagoon, but they had then been defeated through the diligent efforts of her citizens. Venice's long-running rival, Genoa, was forever crippled in the aftermath of the war and forced to cede forever control over the Adriatic to Venice.[5] The importance of the War of Chioggia to the Venetian sense of self can perhaps be seen most clearly however, by the fact that for the first and only time since the closing of the ranks of the nobility with the lock of the *Maggiore Consiglio* in 1297, Venice admitted new members to the patrician class. At no other moment in the 500 years of history between 1297 and the fall of the Republic in 1797, were more families admitted to the patriciate. The end of the War of Chioggia was a singular moment, one which the Bicherano family missed by a hair's breadth. In 1381, it was decided that 30 new families would be admitted to the ranks of the nobility out of 60 who, due to their exemplary service during the war, were up for consideration. For his sacrifices, Nicolo Bicharano was among the 60 considered for entry to the patrician class, but in the vote held by the major council, he lost.[6] It must have been a heavy blow, as noble status in Venice was required to hold any form of public office and the family had just lost their one chance at achieving it. This setback, however, did not prevent the family from marrying members of the nobility in future generations, and a number of Nicolo's grandchildren would be born nobles and go on to hold high public office.

Pietro and the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*

Having completed his military service to the Republic but denied noble status, Pietro got down to the business of being a prosperous *Quattrocentro* Venetian. He was deeply engaged with religious life in the city, petitioning the Pope for concessions to be made for the local German-speaking community, working as "*vardian*" of the Scuola grande de la Miséricord, and as Procurator for the convent of Corpus Christi in Venice where he also donated substantial property.[7] At some point in the 1390s, Pietro married a woman named Bona. Her maiden name is unknown, but Pietro's wife was possessed of some property and brought to the union an impressive

dowry of 1,000 ducats.[8] She and Pietro had four surviving children together, three daughters – Clara, Elisabeta, and Donata – as well as a son named Francisco.

Pietro's work, meanwhile, soon embroiled him in the affairs of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* – the German-speaking merchant association which channelled most of Venice's trade beyond the Alps. Part of what may have drawn Pietro to this group may have been simple proximity. His home district of S. Bartolomeo was the heart of the German-speaking community in Venice, containing within it both the *Fondaco* and their parish church. Polish merchants too, who were almost ubiquitously German speakers during this period, were lumped in among the *Tedeschi* and held places in the *Fondaco*. Pietro would have had contact with them from the start. The choice to tie himself to the *Fondaco* during this period was a strategic one, as during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, South-German companies in particular were becoming a force to be reckoned with on the international market.[9] Of the many German and Polish cities represented in the *Fondaco*, the houses of Nuremberg were the strongest and most abundant.[10] Given their primacy, it is unsurprising that it was with these firms that Pietro chose to involve himself with, working in particular with the Kress-Rummel and the Amman-Kammererer-Seiler-Grau companies, whose interests would eventually draw him to Poland.[11]

Pietro's move to Poland

Pietro's decision to abandon Venice for Poland came in 1406 and was the result of a seemingly once-in-a-lifetime business opportunity. Around 1400, Nicholaus Bochner, a leading Cracow merchant, sought to secure a set of valuable royal monopolies by leasing the rights to the Cracow mint, the lead mines in Olkusz and Trzebina, the Cracow customs duties, and the all-important royal salt mines in Bochina and Wieliczka from King Władysław Jagiełło.[12] However, the amount of upfront cash required to achieve this was enormous, and the rental of the salt mines alone came to 17,000 marks per annum; and so he turned to Klaus Kezinger, the representative of the Amman-Kammerer-Seiler-Grau Company in Cracow. The company, in turn, looked to the Medici bank for financing, securing a massive loan from the head of the Bank's Venice branch, Neri Tornaquinci.[13] Pietro appears to have been another major investing partner in the deal and soon after began travelling to the region. In 1404, he went to Wrocław and Cracow on commission by Ulrich Kammerer to settle a number of debts. He also engaged in some other trade transactions on his own account, travelling as far as Lviv.[14] While Pietro was becoming familiar with Poland, Nicholaus Bochner was becoming overtaxed and soon fell into a swirling whirlpool of debt.[15] In October 1406, owing 25,000 marks, Bochner was forced to declare bankruptcy.[16] He was stripped of his lease of the salt mines and his assets were seized. In the wake of Bochner's fall, the lead mines were taken over

by Klaus Kezinger and Pietro Bicherano was able to secure the lease of the salt mines from the Polish king, a role he would fulfil with great acumen and profit for the next ten years.[17]

Lions from Florence

Just as he was making the move to settle in Poland full time, Pietro was unexpectedly recommended to take part in a diplomatic embassy representing the Florentine *Signoria* to King Władysław Jagiełło of Poland.[18] Part of their mission was to present the king with two adult lions as a sign of Florence's esteem. This embassy was the first recorded diplomatic interaction between the two polities; and at first blush it appears odd that Pietro, a Venetian, would be chosen as an emissary. However, such swapping of well-connected citizens abroad was common for the time and Venetian though he might be, Pietro, as a well-connected Italian already on the scene in Poland, was an obvious choice, given that no better Florentine candidate was available.[19] Yet, the embassy itself seems to have never actually manifested. While a copy of the letter of introduction remains in the Florentine *Cancellaria*, there is no evidence that indicates the lions ever arrived in Cracow. Given this deafening silence of the sources, it is my belief that in all probability, the letter was drafted, but the lion embassy of 1406 never completed its mission. Thus, while he was recommended for the post, Pietro never succeeded in escorting the two lions to the Polish royal court.

In any event, whether as part of the Florentine embassy or not, five months later, Pietro was in Cracow having authorized his son Francisco to act as his procurator in all matters in Venice, he cut himself free from all responsibilities in the lagoon city, including from his wife Bona and three daughters, making Poland his permanent home.[20] Pietro agreed to a contract renting the Cracow salt mines from King Władysław Jagiełło, and would run the mines with great success for the next ten years, never again returning to the city of his birth.[21] Whatever Pietro's personal reasons for choosing to abandon his native land, he was certainly successful in his newly adopted one. As administrator of the Cracow salt mines, he stood with careful management to make a great deal of money. He also for a short time operated as the manager of the Cracow mint, a typical occupation for Italians living near foreign courts. However, the state of the bullion market made turning a profit difficult, and he left the position within a year.[22] He also retained his association with the members of the companies of the *Fondaco*, selling Polish lead to their agents and organizing shipments of silver and gold for their partners in Hungary.[23] These transactions demonstrate the breadth of the web of connections that linked Central Eastern Europe together with Venice and the importance of key individuals in various nodes on the map.

By this point, Pietro had made himself quite at home in Poland, enough so that he chose to invite his nephew, Bona Juntha, to join him, and the young man was soon employed as the assistant mine-manager.[24] Bona Juntha

settled in quickly, soon marrying the daughter of one of the local gentry and applying himself to personal land acquisitions, purchasing villages in the surrounding region.[25] A few years later, Klaus Kezinger, by now interested in other pursuits, sold his rights over the Trzebinia lead mine to Bona Juntha.[26] Uncle and nephew worked together, hand in hand, for a number of years, and three children entered the picture as Bona Juntha's marriage produced a girl named Helena and two boys named Jan and Franciscus, the same as Pietro's own son.[27] Bona Juntha died unexpectedly, however, around 1423, leaving his uncle once more alone.[28] Pietro may have continued on in Poland as a simple prosperous resident of previously foreign extraction, but he was not permitted to simply fade into the local colour as once a Venetian, always a Venetian and the Republic of St. Mark took the duties owed by its citizens seriously. Thus, nearly five years after his permanent transfer to Poland, Pietro received an unexpected call to assist his former home.

Pietro as a Venetian diplomat

Tension between Venice and King Sigismund of Hungary had been rising for years, as both sides sought control over the Dalmatian coast and the Po Valley. In the spring of 1411, this simmering threat was poised to break out into a full-scale war and both sides began hunting allies. Impressed by the Polish victory at the Battle of Grunwald the year before and seeking an ally who occupied Hungary's northern flank, the Venetian Senate sought to ingratiate themselves with King Władysław Jagiełło. To that end, Zannachius Quirino, a good friend of the Bicherano family, alerted the Venetian Senate to Pietro's standing, and convinced them that he would make an attractive interlocuter.[29] Pietro was, thus, approached and agreed to seek to bend the king's ear towards Venetian policies. In the end, although he fulfilled his role with alacrity according to all reports, Pietro's efforts proved fruitless. Venice simply had too little to offer, and Poland remained allied with Hungary as King Sigismund redoubled his efforts to fight Venice. Pietro meanwhile returned to his affairs in Cracow. It would be another seven years before he would receive payment for expenses he had undertaken in his efforts as ambassador.

Later years in Poland

For the next ten years, Pietro occupied himself with his duties in the salt mines and his own mercantile initiatives trading in cochineal dye which had a strong market in Italy.[30] Pietro employed a certain Jorge Hutter, to act as his factor for this task, sending him with the product to sell in either Venice or Florence, where it was sure to fetch a good price. Pietro travelled widely across the kingdom, at one point presenting gifts brought from the Lviv City Council to the king in Lublin, and to Wrocław.[31] He kept in some amount of contact with his son Francisco, and included him in trading ventures

that went through the Kingdom of Hungary to the port of Senj, but never returned to his wife and daughters.[32] Pietro also at this time kept in contact with the Medici bank, continuing to make payments to them for "*una ragione Vecchia*" – an old reason, that is to say the loans defaulted on by Neri Tornaquinci in 1406.[33] Pietro appears to have integrated fully into society in Cracow and was asked by various individuals to act as their legal representative before the Cracow courts and remained a respected member of the community.[34] By 1424 however, Pietro was now over 60, and a year after the death of his favoured nephew, he passed away from the earth and was gone.[35] With his passing, so ended the adventures of this Venetian merchant in Poland.

Legacy

From the surviving record, there is no sign that Pietro ever attempted to return to Venice, and he lived out the rest of his life in Poland, retaining some contact with his son, but otherwise abandoning entirely his wife and daughters. Why Pietro chose to leave his immediate family, going so far as to never even attempt a return visit home, we will likely never know, but such behaviour was out of the ordinary as most other Italian merchants in Poland either brought their families with them or travelled back and forth. His wife, Bona, appears never to have forgiven him, as in her first will, made out in 1425, she offered hundreds of ducats to various churches and individuals; she gave only five coins for prayers for her absent husband's soul. In her second will, composed in 1438, she left nothing at all.[36] Despite the absence of their father, Pietro's daughters married well. The oldest, Clara, married Jacobo Dolce, a member of a well-off but still plebeian family, with whom she had five children. After her husband's death, Clara chose to enter the Augustinian convent where she lived in *clausura* until her demise.[37] Less is known of Elisabeta; she married the nobleman Niccolo di Francesco Bernardo around 1410 but it is unclear if their union produced any children, and she died sometime after 1428.[38] The third daughter, Donata, meanwhile, made the best match, as she espoused the Venetian nobleman Antonio Diedo in 1415. Antonio was a member of an old and respected noble family and was quite a catch for the plebian Donata. Pietro Bicherano's wealth must have been part of the equation.[39] The couple had at least five children: three boys – all of whom went on to join the *Maggior Consiglio* and have glowing careers, with the eldest, Andrea, becoming procurator of S. Marco, the post second only to the Doge in power within the Venetian government.[40] The two girls meanwhile, Chiara and Giovanna, both married into the ancient noble Barbarigo family.[41]

Bona Juntha's children, meanwhile, appear to have blended in seamlessly with the local Polish nobility, never attempting to return to Venice. In large part, the reason for this reluctance may lie in the fact that Bona Juntha died in 1422, only a few years after the children were born and so they swiftly lost

their direct connection to the Lagoon. The family continued to prosper as noble Polish gentry. The one son, Jan, died relatively young, his daughter Helena married a local notable, while Francisco continued to administer the family lands together with his mother Jadwiga. In 1442, he left to join King Władysław III of Poland on campaign, but by 1445 Francisco was dead, likely having fallen at the disastrous Battle of Varna together with his king. His mother Jadwiga soon passed away, thus extinguishing Bona Juntha's line in Poland. The only other member of the Bicherano family to venture to the kingdoms was Pietro's grandson Nicholas, the son of Francesco, who in 1448, over 20 years after Pietro's passing, appears in a single brief mention acting as the customs agent of the village of Muszyna through which ran the main route from the salt mines near Cracow towards Hungary.[42] As he appears in no other documents, it seems likely that he soon returned to Venice and in 1464 had fallen into bankruptcy.[43] In this way, the legacy of Pietro Bicherano faded into obscurity and was lost.

Notes

1 The spelling of the family name is reproduced in documents in a number of ways: Bicherano, Bicharano, Biccarano, Bicarano, Bicaran, Bicharanus, and Pykaran. Greater details of Pietro's life and that of his contemporaries can be found in Leslie Carr-Riegel, "Italian Traders in Medieval Poland 1300–1500", PhD diss. (Central European University, 2021).
2 "Nicolo Bicaran", *L'estimo veneziano del 1379*, http://www.estimoveneziano1379.it/record?estimo_id=972 (accessed 21 December 2020).
3 *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dal suo Principio sino al Giorno d'oggi*, vol. 5 (Venice: G. Antonelli, 1850), 45.
4 The expenses incurred during the War of Chioggia meant that shares in the state debt (*monte*), which had been issued in exchange for the forced loan used to support the war, dropped from the original 5% return to 4% or at times just 3%. Stanley Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5.4 (1975): 574; *L'estimo veneziano del 1379*, http://www.estimoveneziano1379.it/homepage (accessed 20 December 2020).
5 Venice did not escape unscathed; an estimated quarter of the city's private wealth had been spent during the war. Further, in order to secure peace, Venice was forced to renounce claims to the Dalmatian coast in favour of Hungary, agreeing to pay 7,000 gold ducats per year for free access to Dalmatian ports, and handed over control of the Island of Tenedos to Savoy. Mark R. Filip, "Venetian foreign affairs from 1250 to 1381: the wars with Genoa and other external developments", BA Thesis (University of Illinois, 1988), 109; Pal Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 161–167, 207–208, 234–238.
6 Cristoforo Tentori, *Saggio sulla Storia Civile, Politica, Ecclesiastica e sulla Corografie e Topografia degli Stati della Repubblica di Venezia*, vol. 5 (Venice: Giacomo Storti, 1785), 369.
7 ASV, Cane. Inf. 91; Phillipe Braunstein, *Les Allemands à Venise: (1380–1520)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016), 402; *I Libri Commemoriali Della Republica Di Venezia*, ed. Riccardo Predelli and Pietro Bosmin (Venice: a spese della Società, 1876), book 9, no. 224; ASV, Cancelleria inferiore, Notai 21, book 2, fol. 83; ASV, Cancelleria inferiore, Notai 21, book 2, fol. 83.

8 It is possible that Bona came from the plebian family Serial, as in her second will, written in 1438, she mentions a nephew named Tomas Serial, who had left her one-third of his property upon his death. However, it is equally possible that the said Tomas was the son of one of her sisters, and thus took the name of his father rather than Bona's maiden name. ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, no. 398. Published in Jan Ptaśnik (ed), *Italia Mercatoria Apud Polonos Saeculo Xv Ineunte: Opera* (Rome: Loescher, 1910), no. 76. One thousand ducats was a substantial amount, higher in fact than the average noble dowry for the period, which between 1371 and 1410 has been calculated at 963 ducats. A maximum of 1,600 ducats was placed on noble dowries by the Venetian government in 1420, but this would not have affected Bona or Pietro, as they were of the plebian class. Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, "Father of the Bride: Fathers, Daughters, and Dowries in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Venice", *Renaissance Quarterly* 46.4 (1993): 691.

9 By 1413, the *Fondaco* was moving around 6,000,000 ducats worth of goods, providing Venice with 60,000 ducats in customs fees per annum. Martin Štefánik, "Guerra commerciale. Il blocco economico del Re Sigismondo contro Venezia. Il ruolo delle città e dei mercanti nella lotta fra gli stati", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 127-2 (2015), https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.2820 (accessed 26 April 2018).

10 For an overview of the topic, see Stromer, "Nuremberg in the International Economics", *The Business History Review* 44.2 (1970): 210–225.

11 For a history of the Nuremberg families' relations with Venice, see Braunstein, *Les Allemands*, 263–322.

12 Jan Ptaśnik, "Studya nad patrycyatem krakowskim wieków średnich", [Study of the Cracow Patriciate during the Middle Ages] *Rocznik Krakowski* 15 (1913): 66–70; Wolfgang von Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer im Karpatenraum. Ein oberdeutsches Buntmetall-Oligopol 1396–1412", *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej* 16 (1968): 654–657; Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy, and Minting in the Middle Ages: Continuing Afro-European Supremacy, 1250–1450*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 1520–1521.

13 According to Roover, much of the money appears to have been repaid to Neri in the years after 1406, but he at first hid the failure and then failed to remit most of it to the Medici bank. When his perfidy was uncovered, he was fired from his position and fled to Poland. Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (New York: Norton, 1966), 240–241. Pietro meanwhile made a number of individual deposits between 1406 and 1419, on a single occasion paying back 1,800 florins to the Medici bank in the name of Konrad Seiler. ASF, filze 53, no. 1, fol. 83r; ASF, MAP, filze 153, no. 1, fol. 102v.

14 ANK, Consul. Crac. 427, fol. 200; Nicolae Iorga, "Acte privitoare la negoţul românesc cu Lembergul", in *Studiĭ şi documente cu privire la istoria romînilor*, vol. 23 (Bucharest: Editura Ministeriuluĭ de Instrucţie Publică, 1913), 293.

15 *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis cracoviensis: continet privilegia et documenta quae res gestas academiae eiusque beneficia illustrant*, vol. 1 pertinet ab anno 1365 usque ad annum 1430 (Kraków: sumptibus et typis Universitatis, 1873), no. 35.

16 There is a discrepancy between the amount of the debt owed by Bochner in the studies by Ptaśnik (20,000 marks) and Stromer (25,000 marks). A look at the primary source quoted by Ptaśnik, however, clearly states "*viginti milibus marcam vel cirta personaliter obligato*" making 20,000 marks the incredible, but correct amount. Franciszek Piekosiński (ed), *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1257–1506* [Records of the City of Cracow 1257–1506], vol. 4, Monumenta Medii Aevi Histórica (Kraków: Akad. Umiejętności, 1882), 146; Ptaśnik, "Studya nad

patrycyatem", 68; Wolfgang von Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinannz 1350–1450*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), 148–149.

17 Abdon Kłodziński (ed), *Najstarsza księga Sądu Najwyższego prawa niemieckiego na Zamku Krakowskim* [The oldest books of the German Court of Magdeburg at Cracow Castle], Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej, vol. 10 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936), no. 2812; Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer", 656–657.

18 Pietro was to be sent with two other individuals representing Florence – Leonardo Bartoli and Johannes Doctor Decretus [John Śledź of Lubień]. ASF, Signoria, Missive, Cancancellaria 27, fol 1 reproduced in Jan Ptaśnik (ed.), *Italia Mercatoria Apud Polonos Saeculo XV Ineunte: Opera* (Rome: Loescher, 1910). For Pietro's supposed recommendation by Giovanni di Bicci di Medici without clear evidence, see Jan Ptaśnik, *Kultura Włoska Wieków Średnich w Polsce* [Italian Culture in Medieval Poland] (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Biblioteka Polska, 1922), 20, 40. Taken up also by Armando Sapori, "Gli Italiani in Polonia fino a tutto il Quattrocento", *Studi di storia economica* 3 (1967): 156. Francesco Bettarini argued that the mentioned Johannes was in fact "Giovanni of Bicci Medici", who, while a renowned merchant-banker, never gained the title of doctor of canon law. Francesco Bettarini, "The New Frontier: Letters and Merchants between Florence and Poland in the Fifteenth Century", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 127-2 (2015), http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2648 (accessed 28 January 2019).

19 Garrett Mattingly, "The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy", *Speculum* 12.4 (1937): 430–431.

20 ASV, Cane. Inf. 96, (Griffon Pietro), book 1 fol. 24.

21 Boleslaus Ulanowski (ed), *Libri Formularum Saeculi*, Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki, vol. 10 (Kraków: Nakł. Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1888), no. 154, 78–79. For a proper dating of the event, see Jerzy Zathey, "Ze źródeł do dziejów walki klasowej w żupach krakowskich" [From sources on the history of the class struggle in the Cracow villages], *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 5 (1955), 178–180.

22 Aleksander Czołowski (ed), *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta, 1404–1414* [Book of revenues and expenditures of the city], Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta, vol. 2 (Lwów: Gmina król. stoł. miasta Lwowa, 1896), no. 113; Leslie Carr-Riegel, "Italian Mint Masters in Medieval Poland", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 25 (2019): 93–106.

23 In 1408, Pietro arranged the sale of 4,000 centars of lead to the company's agents Lucas Kerzener and Ulrich Reze. The lead was then shipped from Cracow to Toruń and eventually to Flanders. Stromer cites the original agreement between Pietro and Ulrich incorrectly, stating that it was to be found on ANK, Consul Crac. 427, folio 245, when in fact it is on 315. Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer", 657 (1410/03/12). Pietro made a deal with Konrad Seiler to supply gold and silver brought from the Kingdom of Hungary for transport to Flanders. ANK, Consul Crac. 427, fol. 363; Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*, vol. 1, 140.

24 Antoni Zygmunt Helcel (ed), *Wyciągi z najstarszych ksiąg sądowych dawnej ziemi krakowskiej* [Extracts from the earliest court books of the former Terra Cracoviensis], SPPP, vol. 2 (Kraków: Czasu, 1870), no. 1191.

25 Helcel (ed), *Wyciągi z najstarszych ksiąg sądowych*, no. 1191, 1243; "Jawczyce", *Słownik Historyczno-Geograficzny Ziem Polskich w Średniowieczu Edycja Elektroniczna* [Glossary of the Historical and Geographical Polish Territories during the Middle Ages Electronic Edition], http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=6867&q=junty&d=0&t=0 (accessed 23 April 2020).

26 Stromer, "Nürnberger Unternehmer", 655, 660.

27 Piekosiński, *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, vol. 4, 1472.
28 Bolesław Przybyszewski and Lech Kalinowski (eds), *Cracovia artificum: supplementa: teksty źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki z najdawniejszych oficjaliów krakowskich, lata 1410–1412 oraz 1421–1424* [Cracovia artificum: supplementa: source texts for the history of art and culture of ancient offices of Cracow, 1410–1412 and 1421–1424] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985), no. 191.
29 Zannachius Quirino came from an upstanding patrician family with vested interest in Crete. August Cieszkowski (ed), *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e Tabulario Reipublicae Venetae: Exhausit, Collegit, Edidit, Nonnullisque Adnotationibus Polonicus Muniit Augustus Comes Cieszkowski* (Poznań: Typis Officinae Dziennik Poznański, 1890), no 1.
30 Ptaśnik, *Italia Mercatura*, no. 22.
31 Aleksander Czołowski and Franciszek Jaworski (eds), *Księga ławnicza miejska, 1441–1448* [Book of revenues and expenditures of the city], Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta, vol. 4 (Lwów: Gmina król. stoł. miasta Lwowa: 1921), no. 337, p. 131; Alwin Schultz, "Topographie Breslaus im 14. und15. Jahrhundert", in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens* 10/2 (Breslau: Josef Max & Komp., 1870), 245.
32 *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 12 (Zagreb: Župan Albrecht et Fiedler, 1882), 160.
33 ASF, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, 153, fol. 83r.
34 Przybyszewski, *Cracovia artificum: supplementa*, vol. 2, no. 203, no. 205.
35 ASK, Consul Crac. 428, fol. 213.
36 ASV, Testamenti 554, no. 197 Notary Griffon Pietro. ASV, Notarile, Testamenti 364, no. 398. Published in Ptaśnik, *Italia Mercatoria*, no. 76.
37 Dorit Raines, "Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297–1797", *Storia di Venezia – Rivista* 1 (2003): 58; ASV, Testamenti 554, no. 197; Notary Griffon Pietro. ASV, Notarile, Testamenti 364, no. 398. Published in Ptaśnik, *Italia Mercatoria*, no. 76.
38 "Abramo-Busenago", *Balla d'Oro*, http://www.rikvanhauwe.be/Venice/BO/B.O.I.A.htm (accessed 18 April 2021).
39 Bartolomea Riccoboni, *Life and Death in a Venetian Convent: The Chronicle and Necrology of Corpus Domini, 1395–1436*, ed. and trans. Daniel Bornstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 101.
40 "Diedi, Andrea", *Treccani*, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Diedo,-andrea/ (accessed 21 April 2020).
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42 Helcel (ed), *Wyciągi z najstarszych ksiąg sądowych*, no. 3351.
43 ASV, Avogaria di Comun, RASPE, 3351, 76r.

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3 How to develop a trade network as a newcomer without getting married? Examples from the account book of Danzig merchant Johan Pyre

Anna Paulina Orłowska

Introduction

Family connections have always been a crucial factor in setting up social and business networks. Among these connections, the ones created through wedlock were especially valuable, as they laid the foundations for the development of further connections between different families, communities, and social groups. Therefore, marriage was a gateway for a newcomer to enter business networks in a town. Not every merchant, however, was able to get married or willing to marry in a particular town. How did individuals develop their networks in this case?

This chapter aims at showing different strategies that merchants used to establish themselves in a new city and develop business and social networks. As comparative research on strategies of different groups in the same towns is lacking,[1] I decided to analyse the strategies of different groups in establishing a network in Gdańsk, considering social connections within the group, patterns of visits to Gdańsk, language skills, hostilities faced due to their national descent, and legal position, and show how these factors influenced the integration of each group in the town.

Primary source

For this chapter, I am utilizing town registers from Gdańsk and Toruń,[2] but my main primary source is the account book of Johan Pyre (known also as Pisz or Piß).[3] This unique primary source is the oldest preserved merchant account book from Gdańsk (Danzig).[4] The language of the book is Middle Low German, used typically by merchants of the Hanseatic League, and the accounting currency is the bad Mark Prussian (Mark Pr.). The notes cover Pyre's business activities from 1421 to 1455 and depict the enterprise of an average, not-outstanding merchant of the Hanseatic League, who traded along its East-West axis. His activities were reflected only a few times in the town registers, but his account book allows a reconstruction of a much more complex picture. His business partners came not only from Hanseatic towns such as Toruń (Thorn), Lubeck, Riga, and, last but not least, Gdańsk, from

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the Hanseatic kontor in Flanders, but also from non-Hanseatic regions such as England, the Netherlands, and Lithuania.[5] In the 35 years of his business activities, he was in contact with nearly 1000 people.

Newcomer in town – the case of Johan Pyre

Let us analyse how Pyre developed his network, why he did not get married, and which other ties he could use (family, friends). There is no information about his origin, but due to the language he used it can be presumed that he came from the Baltic Sea region.

The fact that Pyre was a newcomer in Gdańsk is supported by his notes in two different ways. In the first lines of his book, he described the time when he gave a loan to Hans Bakker as "when I came here".[6] Additionally, he never mentioned any of his relatives, who were therefore also not present in Gdańsk. Furthermore, whereas there are a dozen mentions of Pyre himself in the town books of Gdańsk, nobody with the same surname was revealed in any of the town registers for the examined period.[7]

Similarly, neither in his account book nor in the town registers is there a mention of a wife or children. One can argue that he could have skipped all the private information, but as a wedding involved significant expenses it was usually reflected in the account books of merchants.[8] His lack of children can also be inferred from the fact that in the last years before his death Pyre clearly reduced his business operations, closed a number of long-lasting partnerships (selling all the merchandise of the partnership and paying out the revenues), and invested in passive income sources that expired with his death. This suggests that there was nobody who could inherit his legacy.[9]

Furthermore, he lived all his life in Gdańsk as a tenant, and the fact that Pyre never had his own household led to presumptions that he may not have had any real estate. It further led to speculations about whether he was a burgher of Gdańsk.[10] It is impossible to ascertain which urban parcel was his due to erasures in the cadastral records,[11] but as his status as a burgher is confirmed by the town of Gdańsk,[12] it means that he ought to have owned real estate in the city. Clearly, there has to be a different explanation for his lifestyle as an old bachelor and tenant. One of the reasons could have been a physical disability that made him ineligible for marriage. However, being unmarried would not have been a reason not to have a separate household; there are examples of merchants whose household was run by a landlady. Nevertheless, the prospect of better opportunities to expand his business network could have been an argument for his staying in the house of Johannes van dem Hagen.

Pyre started his life in Gdańsk by living in the house of Arnd Dotte, a lay judge of Gdańsk[13]; however, he was only sporadically engaged in trade with Dotte.[14] His main partner in those first years was the one named in the very first note in Pyre's account book – Hans Bakker. They engaged in a multitude of different enterprises together as well as with further partners, and

these businesses were usually bigger than the one Pyre ran on his own. One of these partners was Johannes van dem Hagen, a young merchant from a good family.[15] They started with small sums, such as loans of six Mark Pr., but quickly expanded their business connections so that by July 1422 Pyre had already summed up his interim balance of the partnership with Hagen and noted that Hagen owed him a huge sum of nearly 435 Mark Pr. Probably already then they moved from a partnership to a *selscop* (i.e. company). In the last months of 1423, he described Hagen as his landlord. Therefore, he had moved from Dotte's to Hagen's not later than that same year.[16] He noted recurrently that he paid *vor koste* ("for cost", i.e. for rent and probably other expenses) a fixed rate of 24 Mark Pr. per year.

This situation of spatial proximity also had a clear influence on their connection. They not only ran their *selscop*, but they also represented each other to further business partners and lent money to a number of each other's enterprises. This cooperation was of huge importance for both of them, but especially for Hagen after he started his career in the city council. His duties obliged him to travel in order to represent Gdańsk. During these recurring absences, the presence in Gdańsk of Pyre, who rarely travelled (he mentions leaving town only two times), was a huge help. The cooperation between these two merchants was so intensive that Pyre invented a new bookkeeping technique to document these developments.[17]

I presume that their contacts crossed – as was typical in the Middle Ages – the boundary between business and private affairs, as Pyre mentioned paying back costs of food such as herring, flour, and ham.[18]

The expenses for ham and bacon he shared also with another of Hagen's tenants, a merchant from Riga called Hynryk Vos.[19] Pyre had a large network of partners from Riga and connected them with his landlord. Similarly, contacts with merchants from Vilnius were primarily established by Johan Pyre and Hagen used them occasionally. This situation was reversed when it came to Pyre's connections with merchants from Prussia, and especially with merchants from Gdańsk. Surprisingly, the same can be confirmed in the case of Pyre's English contacts, as they were established with the help of Hagen. The reason for this might be the fact that a number of their English business partners were residing in Gdańsk or its vicinity.

In these cases, Pyre used his landlord's connections as a springboard to develop his own contacts with these groups of merchants. Therefore, the close connection with Johannes van dem Hagen was the key to Pyre's network development in his new location.

Hanseatic merchants

Every person who temporarily stayed in Gdańsk and was not inscribed in the list of inhabitants or did not gain the status of a resident was regarded as a foreigner or a guest.[20] However, the town authorities differentiated between newcomers from the towns of the Hanseatic League (Hansards)

and other towns (*Butenhansen*).[21] As merchants from Riga were the biggest group among Pyre's contacts with Hansards,[22] I will show the network development using this group.

The contacts between Riga and Gdańsk have been a subject of research for a long time.[23] Both towns were members of an alliance of Prussian and Livonian towns within the Hanseatic League and coordinated their actions to gain a better position in negotiations during Hanseatic Diets (*Hansetag*), which led to lively diplomatic contacts between Riga and Gdańsk. They were also important economic partners. The intensity of contacts between the burghers of these two towns was high and left a lot of traces in the town registers of Gdańsk and Riga (though, unfortunately, the majority of primary sources for Riga from that time have been destroyed).[24] The account book of Johan Pyre, however, gives us a different viewpoint than other primary sources, as it documents everyday processes. Furthermore, it covers a longer time span, of nearly 35 years, as partners from Riga were a constant presence in Pyre's business dealings.

In many cases, his notes correlate with official documents, as the diplomats of Riga also used their visits to Gdańsk to conduct private business. In 1437, Reynolt Saltrumppe took a piece of cloth with gold coins sewn into it, and thus transferred cash from Gdańsk to Riga. He was in Gdańsk as a representative of Riga in negotiations of the London Treaty.[25]

Besides these more occasional visits, some of the burghers of Riga decided to settle down in Gdańsk. Based on Pyre's notes, a clear pattern to this process can be discerned: The son of a wealthy family would come to the town and start to pursue his business. After having established himself as a trustworthy merchant and having developed a stable network, he would hand over the well-known enterprise he had created to his younger brother. The older brother would move back to Riga and usually take over some municipal office, such as that of lay judge, councillor, or treasurer. I observed this process for a number of esteemed families from Riga: Bardemann, Vos, Harman, Wesebom, Bekerwerter, Mey, Swynden, and van Gendena. In some cases, the network was supported by a marriage – in the case of the Vos family, Katharina, the sister of Herman and Hynryk Vos, got married to Kerstyan van Megen. In the case of Hynryk Vos, we can also observe the development of a social network based on spatial proximity (as already mentioned, Hynryk Vos was also a tenant of Johannes van dem Hagen).

The merchants of Riga were very well interconnected and they helped their countrymen to transfer money or to pay loan instalments; however, they never vouched for their countrymen – there was no such need due to their legal position as Hansards.

English merchants

The question of English merchants in Gdańsk has been examined multiple times, as their presence not only impacted on the economy but was also a

political issue because both the English Crown and the Teutonic Order acted in favour of their people.[26] Regarding the business activities of English merchants, only a few analyses have been published,[27] and as my preliminary prosopographic research shows, a number of Englishmen in Gdańsk have been overlooked, which impacts the credibility of those statistical analyses and thus also their conclusions. In the 1426–1442 court books alone, I was able to identify more than 60 Englishmen. The analysis of this material will lead us to a deeper understanding of how Englishmen established their network in Gdańsk, but in this chapter, I want to present what the development of their network looked like from the perspective of their partner.

Pyre came into contact with Englishmen already in the second year of his business activities in Gdańsk (i.e. in 1422) and traded with them till the last years of it, as he sold Swedish iron and wax to Jon Juchsal in 1453, just two years before his death. These were typical commodities bought by merchants from Albion, who primarily traded not only cloth from their homeland, but also French sea salt. I was able to identify nearly 30 partners of Pyre as Englishmen[28] and uncover strategies they used to develop their network in Gdańsk. There are five aspects specific to this group:

Firstly, at least some of them were living as tenants of Danzig burghers who were usually members of the city elite[29] – Thomas Merse lived in the house of Dyrgarden,[30] while Rytzart Schottus lived at Claus Rogge's, the town councillor and mayor.[31] It seems that the landlords vouched for the reputation of their tenants, as these foreigners were able to make highly valuable purchases on credit even during their first transactions. Rytzart Schottus purchased wax and iron for the gigantic sum of 820 Mark Pr.[32] and the agreed upon repayment period was longer than usual, which also indicates how highly trustworthy the debtor was deemed to be. Schottus' reputation was so great that he was even able to vouch for another merchant also during his first transactions.

Secondly, Englishmen supported each other by guaranteeing the loans taken out by their countrymen. Rytzart Schottus gave an assurance that Jan Kyrke would pay his debt arising from the purchase of wax and furs.[33] In 1441, Jon Mey provided security for a purchase made by Thomas Entsson, who bought iron and seal oil for 250 Mark Pr.[34] Maybe the established merchants also helped the newcomers to communicate with their Danzig counterparts.

Thirdly, some Englishmen developed their starting position by selling or loaning Western currencies. Jon Meynnard sold Pyre 70 *pound groote* (i.e. Flemish currency). Wylm Roberts (or Robertson) sold Pyre 20 bishopric guilders (gold coins from Utrecht). Last but not least, Jon Palynk was offering his services in money transfers to Johan Reppyn.[35]

Fourthly, there are nearly no family ties between English merchants. There are no Englishmen described by Pyre as brothers or cousins, and only two of them – Jon Stokker and Robbert Stokker – have the same surname, which gives rise to speculations that they may have shared a bloodline. This

stands in clear contrast to Pyre's partners from Riga, who used brotherhood as one of the most important factors in the development of their networks.

Fifthly, the town of origin of most merchants has to be verified, but for those individuals I have already scrutinized, three towns come to the fore: King's Lynn, Norwich, and Boston. Since these three cities lie in each other's vicinity at the English East coast, merchants of those origins had already had a preformed network at home. Thus, they could build another network in Gdańsk on this foundation rather than having to form it from scratch. In this regard, they are similar to the merchants from Riga. This has to be further examined in English town registers.

Dutchmen

The research on the presence of Dutch merchants and, first of all, shippers has been analysed intensely as it led to major changes in the trade over the Baltic Sea and North Sea and is linked with the decline of the Hanseatic League.[36] However, the relations between Dutchmen and Hanseatic merchants were multifaceted, as the Dutch were not only competitors but also companions. In the case of Gdańsk, this intensity of the intertwining of mutual relations is reflected in a newly published edition of a list of burghers of Gdańsk who acted as guarantors for Dutch shippers.[37] This primary source shows a close connection between the members of the town elite and their Dutch counterparts. This unique document has to be analysed in a broader context in order to understand how the Gdańsk merchants and their counterparts from the Netherlands cooperated and how the networks of both sides intertwined.

The picture created by Johan Pyre's notes is somewhat different. On the one hand, he had two strong partnerships with Dutchmen: Steven van Ummen and Gerke Olryk. With both of them he was in a business relationship specific for the Hanseatic League: *wedderleginge*. Both Pyre and his business partner invested money in the company, but Pyre was a *socius dormens*, meaning that he was not acting in order to increase profit; the actions were undertaken only by the second partner. This was a method both to invest money and to allow a young merchant to start trading on his own. The risk was divided accordingly to the shares; the gain *per capita*. Both *wedderleginge* with these Hollanders were quite typical, lasting around five years and the gain being divided at the end.

On the other hand, the vast majority of his Dutch partners are mentioned only once. In some cases, Pyre even omitted the full name of his Dutch partner: in 1422, he noted that he bought tallow from *Cleis den Hollander*[38]; in many cases, he even omitted the given name, as in the year 1425 when Pyre borrowed 100 Mark Pr. from "a Dutchman" (*van enem Hollander*).[39] In the year 1427, he noted that he paid his obligation to Arnd Nagel through "a Dutchman" (*by en Hollander*).[40] Similarly, he registered in the year 1435 that the money from Jurgen Brothagen was delivered by two Dutchmen (*dat hey*

twen Hollanders gaff).[41] These ambiguous descriptions increase the uncertainty as to which of these Dutchmen, if any, were the same person.

Therefore, it is impossible to determine how the Dutch partners of Pyre developed their network. In most cases we can observe dyads and triads, but further research is practically impossible. Guarantees given by countrymen are not observed in the case of either Hansard-Dutch or *Butenhansen*-Dutch. We can presume that they did not need translators, as Middle Flemish and Middle Low German are very similar.

The cases of van Ummen and Olryk give much more information, but due to the very specific situation of both merchants (Pyre had only four *wedderleginge*) their experience should not be generalized as the strategy used by all Dutchmen. Olryk was recognized in his town of origin, Zutphen, where he later became a councillor and mayor. He engaged his brother as a business partner in a similar pattern to that noted among the merchants of Riga. Further, he had a wife in Riga, who helped him with his business activities.

Vilnius merchants

The merchants from Vilnius were to some degree in a similar situation to the English merchants, as not only were they *Butenhansen*, but they also had to overcome the borders of different culture and language. However, their strategy differed from the strategy of English merchants. As there are no town registers of Vilnius and there are only a few mentions of Vilnius burghers in the town registers of Gdańsk, the account book of Pyre is one of the best sources to analyse the activities of Vilnius merchants in Gdańsk.

Pyre mentioned his first exchange with a Vilnius merchant in the year 1426; the last one was in the year 1450. In these 25 years, Pyre contacted nine counterparts from the Lithuanian town: three described vaguely as "a Ruthenian from Vilnius" (*Russe van der Vylle*) and six known by name: Peter Gossevytze (Peter Asse), Andreas Kopervysse, Mertyn Vysellevytze, her Nycolae Andressevitze, Mychel Godsevysse, and Mertyn Weperyk. They traded usually using the Gdańsk-Vilnius trading contract, which was a combination of barter, commodity credit, and delivery commitment.[42] In autumn, a Vilnius merchant purchased Western goods in Gdańsk, usually cloth, and promised a payment in spring, usually in the form of a supply of wax. If the volume of the delivered wax was smaller than contracted, the difference should be paid and the sum was defined in Bohemian Groschen. Yet Vilnius merchants usually did not pay their obligations in cash but rather gave payment orders in Gdańsk. This possibility can be observed in case of Peter Gossevytze, who bought cloth from Pyre and Johannes van dem Hagen for 320 Mark Pr. in the year 1436 and paid his debts via inhabitants of Gdańsk – Bokholte and a tenant of Plonyes Kulleken named Hans. Hagen – a juryman of Gdańsk at that time – helped Andreas Koppervysse to cover his debt of 20.25 Mark Pr. that resulted due to an undersized delivery of wax in 1436. In 1444, the debt of Vysellevytze was paid by Hinrik Vos, a co-tenant of Pyre from Riga.

Also, Johan Pyre himself helped merchants from Vilnius to execute payment orders: in 1442, he received an oversized wax delivery and paid the value of the surplus to Reynold Eklynchoffe. All these cases confirm that the Vilnius merchant had developed networks in Gdańsk, which included the elite of the city as well as further foreigner merchants. However, there are only two examples of network connection between Vilnius merchants themselves. In 1449, Martyn Vysellvytze, a partner of Pyre in 1442 and 1444, acquired Colchester cloth together with Mertyn Weperyk. The purchase was done with joint responsibility (*met samer hant*). Weperyk did not develop the connection to Pyre on his own, maybe due to the advanced age of Pyre, who was closing down his business at that time. The second example is the payment by Mychel Godsevysse for a purchase made in 1447 by an old partner of Pyre, Peter Gossevytze (Peter Godsevitsen). Due to the similarity of their names, it can be presumed that Mychel was a family member of Peter, maybe even his son. Similarly to the case of Weperyk, Mychel did not develop any further connection to Pyre, even if this case is much earlier and Pyre started several new business connections in that time. Apparently, these contacts did not evolve into long-term connections.

To sum up, we cannot trace how the merchants from Vilnius developed their networks in Gdańsk, even if we can prove that they had well-developed networks in this town. They probably did not settle down in the city but rather visited on a regular basis (in autumn and spring, as mentioned in the description of the Gdańsk-Vilnius trading contract, and further in summer for the main annual fair of Gdańsk). It is not clear how they solved the problem of the language barrier – the use of any kind of translator is not mentioned. Hypothetically, the merchants who were trading with Hanseatic towns could have learned Middle Low German, the language of the Hanseatic League. The trade with them was seen by Pyre as riskier and he set his prices slightly higher; his gain was bigger than in the case of similar merchandise sold to Hanseatic partners.

Nuremberg merchants

One of the most interesting cases regarding the development of connections by a newcomer is the case of Segemunt Geier, a merchant from Nuremberg.[43] The development of his network differs from other strategies a lot. He was a partner of Johan Pyre, but his activities are very well documented in the town records of Gdańsk as well as in further primary sources from Nuremberg. The first mention of his activities is from 1436, as Sacharias Stekel confirmed his debt of nearly 15 Mark Pr. to *Segemunt van Norenberch*.[44] In the same year, *Segemunt Gire* became a representative of Fricze Kiper – not only could he accept all payments for Kiper, but he was also able to appoint a further representative of Kiper.[45] In the year 1437, Segemunt Geier paid the debt of Fricze Krenet to Hinrik Holdenstede, which was confirmed by Tile Vos, the representative of Hinrik Holdenstede.[46] To sum up, already in the first years

of his presence in Gdańsk, Geier was able to perform advanced legal activities typical for an experienced merchant with an excellent network.

Geier probably left Prussia for a few years, maybe visiting his hometown, as the next note was written in the year 1440 – in November of that year, Geier named Hincze Tokeler as his representative.[47] This note starts a number of written records showing his activities in Gdańsk. As the account book of Johan Pyre states, Geier sold Pyre 52 schock groschen for nearly 200 Mark Pr. The payment was done by Johannes van dem Hagen and Herman Ryngenrode, both well known in Gdańsk.[48] In June 1441, Pawel Papendorff and Hans Stehen admitted that they ought to pay 110 Mark Pr. to *Segemunt Gheire* and Heyne Sporinnk.[49] In the autumn of 1441, *Segemund Kye van Norenberg* bought 1,000 squirrel furs from Pyre, and in 1442 seven pieces of wax.[50] In a letter written in late 1444, Segemunt Geier is described as a representative of the Zeringer-Preutigam company from Nuremberg – he planned to buy wax and got ten Hungarian forints for this purpose from his boss, Lienhard Mülich.[51] In the following years, the role of Geier in this network rose immensely – in the December of 1446, he sold a promissory note for 875 Rhenish Guilders to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Erlichshausen.[52] The payment place was Nuremberg, so it allowed Erlichhausen to transfer the money south. Similarly, already two years later in Nuremberg, Segemunt Geier and his partner Kunz Guldemund were paying out 2500 Rhenish Guilders for the promissory note issued by Jakob Hasart, a merchant from Gdańsk.[53] This promissory note was used to transfer money from the land of the Teutonic Order towards Rome. Surprisingly, the merchants of Rome were not willing to support the Order in this case, so the *Generalprokurator* of the Teutonic Order, seeking a solution, decided to ask the *Magna Societas Alamannorum* for help. The trading company was willing to transfer money from Nuremberg to Rome, and the transfer to Nuremberg was made possible thanks to the described cooperation of merchants.

This immense amount of money explains to some degree why Geier is mentioned so many times in town registers, as well as how he developed his network. Coming from Nuremberg, not only did he have none of the protection typical for Hansards, but he was also able to spend the money of the company to secure his legal rights in court and to invest huge sums even as a young merchant.

Conclusion

Marriage was one of the most important factors for developing a trade network, but it was not the only option available. Merchants coming to Gdańsk pursued a number of different strategies. They used pre-existing connections which they expanded after their arrival, they took advantage of their positions as diplomats, they relied on bonds of brotherhood, they helped newcomers to become part of their network, they vouched for newly arrived countrymen, and, last but not least, they paid for the absence of

networks – willingly like the merchant from Nuremberg, or unwillingly like the merchant from Vilnius, who paid higher prices for their purchase. The choice was driven by the individual's legal status, language fluency, and financial status; however, further research on the strategies of different groups in the same town is essential.

Notes

1 Christof Jeggle, "Merchant Communities, Commercial Networks, and the Constitution of Markets", in *Union in separation. Diasporic groups and identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. Georg Christ and Franz-Julius Morche (Rome: Viella, 2015), 571–592.
2 Karola Ciesielska and Janusz Tandecki (eds), *Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia: (1428–1456). Liber scabinorum veteris civitatis Torunensis* (Toruń: TNT, 1992). Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk (ed), *Liber scabinorum veteris civitatis Thoruniensis. 1363–1428* (Toruń: TNT, 1936); Archiwum Państwowe Gdańsk (hereafter APG): 300,12 Kamlaria (300,12/395–398, 479, 480, 482–484, 738, 827–829), 300,27 Missiva (300,27/1–300,27/5), 300,32 Grundbücher (300,32/1, 3, 79), 300,43 Schöffenbücher (300,43/1, 1b, 1c, 2, 195, 196), 300,59 Stadtbücher (300,59/1, 2, 4a), 300,60 Die Junge Stadt Danzig (300,60/1), 300,359 Artushof (300,359/1, 2), 300,R Handschriften (300,R/F,3, 4), 369 Elbing (369,1/18, 131).
3 Anna Paulina Orlowska, "Der mittelalterliche Kaufmann Johan Pyre (früher Pisz) und die unterschiedliche Rezeption seiner Tätigkeit", in *Junge Slavistik im Dialog II*, ed. Petr Nádenícek, Katarzyna Rózanska, Anna Weigl (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2010), 83–93.
4 Anna Paulina Orlowska, *Johan Pyre: Ein Kaufmann und sein Handelsbuch im spätmittelalterlichen Danzig. Edition* (Göttingen: Böhlau-Verlag, 2022).
5 Anna Paulina Orlowska, "Handel in einem Kaufmannsnetz: Der Danziger Johann Pyre", in *Vertraute Ferne. Kommunikation und Mobilität im Hanseraum*, ed. Joachim Mähnert, Stephan Selzer (Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012), 32–39.
6 *dey yk em lende, do yk hyr quam*, Orłowska, *Edition*, 1r 1.
7 300,12 Kamlaria (300,12/395–398, 479, 480, 482–484, 738, 827–829), 300,27 Missiva (300,27/1–300,27/5), 300,32 Grundbücher (300,32/1, 3, 79), 300,43 Schöffenbücher (300,43/1, 1b, 1c, 2, 195, 196), 300,59 Stadtbücher (300,59/1, 2, 4a).
8 Compare: Sabrina Stockhusen, *Hinrik Dunkelgud und sein Rechnungsbuch (1479 bis 1517)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019).
9 Anna Paulina Orłowska, *Johan Pyre: Ein Kaufmann und sein Handelsbuch im spätmittelalterlichen Danzig. Darstellung* (Göttingen: Böhlau-Verlag, 2022), 47.
10 Walter Schmidt-Rimpler, *Geschichte des Kommissionsgeschäfts in Deutschland* (Halle a. d. S 1915), 75.
11 Marcin Grulkowski, "Najstarsze księgi gruntowe Głównego Miasta Gdańska w XIV i XV wieku. Uwagi źródłoznawcze", in *Miasta polskie w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, ed. Paweł Gołdyn (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego "Societas Vistulana", 2008), 181–200.
12 APG 300,27/4, 240r–240v.
13 Joachim Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, 2008), no. 197.
14 Orłowska, *Darstellung*, 214.
15 Orłowska, *Darstellung,* 223–260.
16 Probably in the same year Johannes van dem Hagen got married to Barbara, a widow of Hans Tzan, who had died in 1422. Zdrenka, *Biogramy*, no. 1290. The

fact that with this marriage he started his own household could be a reason why he could be a landlord to Pyre.
17 Orłowska, *Darstellung*, 39.
18 Orłowska, *Edition*, 12v 2, 13v 9, 60r 1, 59v 1.
19 *Item soe ys my Hynryk Vos vor 2 syden spekes 4 mk. myn 1 fer. Item vor 5 schynken, ed stucke 4 sc*. Orłowska, *Edition*, 91v 5.
20 Roman Czaja and Anna Marynowska, "Foreign Merchants and Skippers in Gdansk (Danzig) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", in *Las sociedades portuarias de la Europa Atlántica en la Edad Media*, ed. Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea et al. (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2016), 69.
21 For example, in 1422, *dass alle geste, dy in dy hense nicht behoren*.
22 More than 50 of his partners came from Riga.
23 Leon Koczy, "Danzig und Riga", in *Conventus primus historicorum Balticorum. Acta et relata: Rigae, 16.–20.VIII.1937* (Rigae: Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Izdevums, 1938), 299–312.
24 Madlena Mahling, *Ad rem publicam et ad ignem: das mittelalterliche Schriftgut des Rigaer Rats und sein Fortbestand in der Neuzeit* (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2015).
25 Ruta Brusbarde, "Die Ratssendeboten der Stadt Riga in Preußen 'in den Engelschen saken' während der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts", in *Ene vruntlike tohopesate: Festschrift für Horst Wernicke zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Sonja Birli et al. (Hamburg, 2016), 161–173.
26 Stuart Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen: Handel und Diplomatie, 1377–1474* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1992).
27 Czaja and Marynowska, "Foreign merchants".
28 These are: Wylm Baldrye, Robbert Barrye, Wylm Brathorn, Jon Brok, Johan Buk (?), Edemunde, Thomas Entsson, Jon Gylbert, Herry, Rytsard Hoff, Hynryk, Jon Juchsal, Jan Kyrke, Thomas Merse (Mersson), Hans Mey (?), Jon Meynard, Jon Palynk, Robert Pauwels, Wylm Roberts, Rytzart Schottus, Schottesche, Jon Stansby, Jon Stokker, Robbert Stokker, Jon Sydye, Jon Tus (?), Jon Velle, Wylm, Wylm Wester.
29 Even though the city council insisted on limiting the settlement of Englishmen to the so-called English Dam.
30 It is not clear if he lived in the house of lay judge Ambrosius Dyrgarden (Tiergarten) or in the house of town councillor Nicolaus.
31 Zdrenka, *Biogramy*, no. 881.
32 Orłowska, *Edition*, 94r 1, 3.
33 Orłowska, *Edition*, 94r 4, 5.
34 Orłowska, *Edition*, 88r 14.
35 Orłowska, *Edition*, 58r 8, 57v 8; 61r 6; 49v 1.
36 Dieter Seifert, *Kompagnons und Konkurrenten. Holland und die Hanse im späten Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1997).
37 Roman Czaja and Cezary Kardasz, "Kontakte der Danziger Stadtbürger mit niederländischen Kaufleuten und Schiffern in der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts", in *Von Hamburg nach Java. Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co., 2020), 159–196.
38 Orłowska, *Edition*, 111v 3.
39 Orłowska, *Edition*, 106v 4.
40 Orłowska, *Edition*, 60v 5.
41 Orłowska, *Edition*, 97v 3.
42 Anna Paulina Orłowska, "Kontakty handlowe Gdańska i Wilna w świetle piętnastowiecznej księgi kupieckiej", *Rocznik Lituanistyczny* 7 (2021): 59–91.

43 Anna Paulina Orlowska, "Zwei Brüder – zwei Städte. Die Nürnberger Gebrüder Geier in Danzig", in '*Es geht um die Menschen*' *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters für Gerhard Fouquet zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Harm von Seggern and Gabriel Zeilinger (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 103–110.
44 APG 300,43/1b, 138r. Orlowska, Zwei Brüder, 104.
45 APG 300,43/1b, 159r. Orlowska, Zwei Brüder, 104.
46 APG 300,43/1b, 175v. Orlowska, Zwei Brüder, 105.
47 APG 300,43/1b, 331r.
48 Orłowska, *Edition*, 52r.
49 APG 300,43/1b, 356v.
50 Orlowska, *Edition*, 85r, 87r.
51 Wolfgang von Stromer, "Die Zeringer. Steirisch-Nürnberger innovatorische Montanunternehmer und Fernhändler im 15. Jahrhundert", in *Festschrift Othmar Pickl zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Herwig Ebner (Graz: Leykam, 1987), 603–632, 623.
52 Klaus Militzer, "Die Finanzierung der Erhebung Sylvester Stodeweschers zum Erzbischof von Riga", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 28 (1979): 239–255, 254.
53 Militzer, "Finanzierung", 246.

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4 Marriage networks and building structures of power within the urban communities between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea

A comparative approach

Zrinka Nikolić Jakus and Marija Karbić

Family ties have always played an important role in the formation and development of social structures, especially in pre-modern communities. Among these ties, marriage was particularly important as an initial factor that glued together different families, communities, and even social groups. It could be a way of integrating "new" individuals and families into the existing structures. This can be especially well observed in the leading layers of urban communities.[1]

In this chapter, we will analyse the way marriage ties contributed to building structures of power within urban communities in the area between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea, in the territory of present-day Croatia. This area is situated at the intersection of two cultural circles – Mediterranean and Central European – which is also reflected in the character of its urban settlements. Those on the Adriatic coast are of a typical Mediterranean type, whereby many of them originate from Antiquity. A few new towns, for example Šibenik, were founded in the High Middle Ages, but followed the old ones in their political and social structures and way of life. Although the coastal towns acknowledged royal power and gladly accepted the privileges bestowed on them by the Arpad kings, the ancient tradition defined their autonomous social development and communal identity, expressed, among other things, in their own communal laws, primarily statutes.[2] Urban settlements in the hinterland reflect the Central-European pattern of development, and their foundation is connected primarily with the process of colonization. Therefore, they depended much more strongly on relations with the king and the local ecclesiastical and secular lords, and the privileges bestowed on them became the basis of their legal system. The differences in the origin of towns on the coast and in the hinterland also influenced the structure of the population, in terms of both provenance and the development of social strata.[3]

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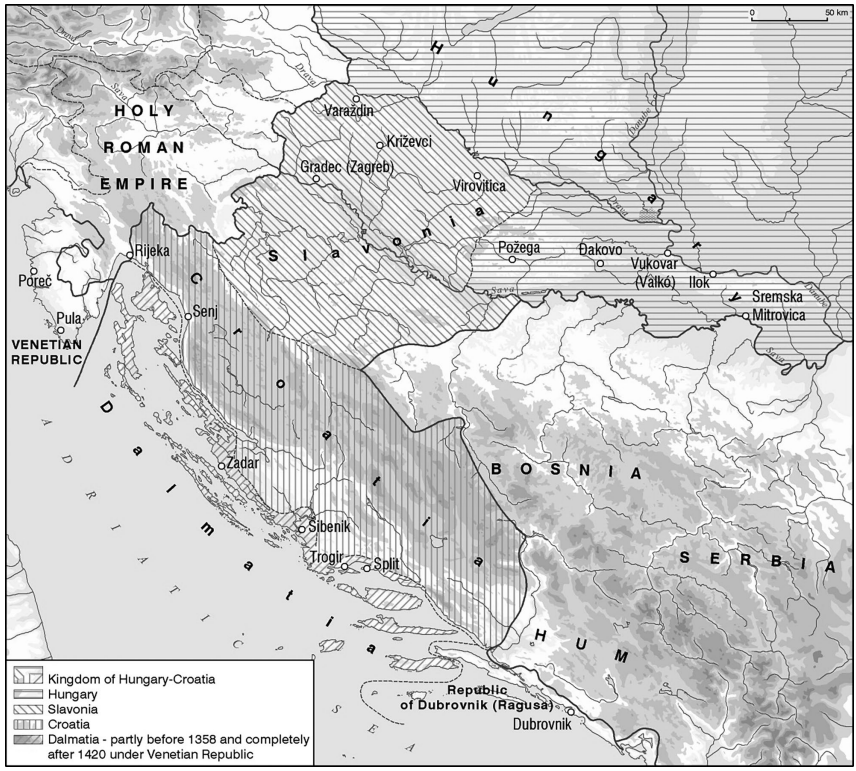

Map 4.1 Region between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea in the Middle Ages

Immigration was crucial for the urban development in the region between the Drava and Sava rivers, but it also had an invaluable significance for the coastal cities with ancient tradition. In the Interamnium, immigration was crucial to urban foundation and development, in both the quantitative and qualitative sense; for the coastal region, it was not important for the foundation of towns, but greatly contributed to their political, economic, and cultural life.[4] Family ties had major importance for the arrival and integration of newcomers into urban communities, particularly significant being the intermarriages with citizens as one of the ways that helped in forming a unified urban community.

In this chapter, we will discuss how marriage ties enabled the integration of immigrants within the urban elites of the Adriatic coast and the Drava-Sava Interamnium, as well as how marriage was used as a means of social advancement and a strategy of success within urban communities. Another issue to be discussed is the way in which urban elites connected via marriages with the authorities and the elite social layer in the city's surroundings and beyond.

Immigrants who came to Dalmatian cities as members of an accepted elite in their communities of origin, whether from the Croatian hinterland or from Italian communes, presumably in a favourable position due to their wealth and capable of acquiring property, used marriages with the "old", established elite to integrate quickly into the circle of the Dalmatian urban elite. If not they themselves, their offspring was guaranteed places in the Major Council, membership of which was mandatory for recognition of noble status from the first half of the fourteenth century. Before the closure of the Major Councils, the "old" Dalmatian elite can be defined as the one whose members were regularly elected as local officeholders and were also benefactors of local ecclesiastical institutions. The scarcity of surviving sources earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, the loss of some of the notarial notebooks in the first half of the fourteenth century, as well as the problem of tracing genealogies for most of the families who had not developed family names by the fourteenth century prevent the researcher from establishing more clear cases of marriages between the Dalmatian elite and the newcomers. Nevertheless, the name-inheriting patterns of Dalmatian medieval families, with their specific lead-names, indicate a gradually increasing number of intermarriages between families with roots in Late Antiquity and newcomers from the Slavic neighbourhood.[5]

A number of Croatian noblemen who served as governors (*comites* – counts) in Dalmatian towns during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, or their sons, founded families who entered this circle of old Dalmatian nobility in some cases, but not necessarily in the same towns where their fathers had originally been governors. Among them were the descendants of Vučina, who was count of Trogir, podestà of Split (1205–1208) and the first known member of the great Croatian kindred of Šubić[6] to be made count of a Dalmatian town. Several noble families in Trogir and Zadar were descended from Vučina's offspring. His grandson Peter is especially interesting for our topic, as he lived in Trogir and married Lady Skimosa (*Scimosa* or *Scomosa*) from the old Tragurin family of Buffalis. She was already a widow; her late husband Elias came from an even more important family, the Kazarica, who produced judges and consuls of Trogir at that time.[7] Even more importantly for Skimosa's status in the Tragurin society during the 1270s could be the fact that she, although childless, seemed to control her dead husband's property. This was quite unusual among the Dalmatian elite, since the usual practice was that the woman kept only her dowry after the death of her husband and could manage, but not dispose of, her husband's property only if she did not remarry.[8] Skimosa, however, in her testament written in 1271, bequeathed not only hers but also her late husband's property. She appears to have been active in business, investing in trade companies and enlarging her estates.[9] Peter and Skimosa's son Martinuš, although not bearing the title of count like his paternal ancestors, was already a member of the Tragurin Major Council, and therefore a full member of the Tragurin noble circle.[10] The wives of Tragurin count Elias

(who held this title from 1213 to 1227) and Spalatin Count Nicholas (also of the Šubić kindred) came from the old families of the Zaratin elite. Nicholas' wife Helen was a cousin of the richest man in Zadar in the second half of the thirteenth century, Cosa de Saladini. The family of Stana, Count Elias' wife, is unknown, but she and her and Elias' son Gregory are mentioned in the necrology of St Mary's Monastery, the oldest and most respected nunnery in Zadar. The same necrology also mentions Count Nicholas.[11] Since the necrology usually included only members of Zadar's urban elite and not the Croatian nobility of the hinterland, this is a strong indication that the counts and their offspring became integrated into the circle of the old Zaratin elite by marrying Zaratin noblewomen.

A similar situation with the representatives of power structures coming from outside the city and blending into the local nobility can be seen 100 year later, when Balthasar de Sorba from Genoa became a royal knight and an admiral and held several other high offices in the service of King Louis of Anjou. Balthasar's first wife, Lina, was a Genoese, while the second one, Nicolota, was most probably from Dubrovnik. He had two sons with each of them. While Bartholomew from the first marriage probably returned to Genoa, his full brother Raphael, along with his father, became a royal knight and citizen of Zadar, where he served several times as rector. He married Catherine, widow of James de Varicassis.[12]

Among the immigrants who became members of the city elite, there were probably more people who came because of the business prospects than because of politics. Such was, for example, Philip de Fermo, who married a daughter of *dominus* Zancius Strie from Trogir.[13] The Contarini who came to Zadar in the first decades of the thirteenth century, probably in an attempt at colonization by the Venetians after an unsuccessful Zaratin rebellion against their rule, were a branch of one of the oldest Venetian noble families, but their economic status seems to have been relatively modest compared with the old Zaratin families. John Contarini from Venice came as a business partner of the prominent Zaratin citizen Desa de Prodanello, but then he married Slava from the de Begna family and appeared in the list of Zaratin noblemen in 1286. Other Contarini continued to intermarry with the members of the Zaratin nobility. They never reached the level of political and economic importance of great noble kindreds like the de Begna, for instance, but they were included in the necrology of St Mary's, which seems to confirm their noble status.[14]

There are examples of people who came from other Dalmatian towns, such as Çianni (Gianni?) Açelini (Azzelini), who was the same person as Ivan (John) called Açelino, son of Družinja from Zadar. Çianni Azzelini married a woman from the old family of Casotti (Kažotić) in Trogir, and several years after moving to Trogir he was already treasurer of the commune of Trogir.[15]

A similar situation can be observed even better among the urban communities in the Interamnium. Upon their arrival in the city, ambitious

immigrants usually quickly married members of families of "good standing", after which they soon entered the city magistracy. Of course, it is likely that they had some means at the time of their arrival in the city, as well as abilities and ambitions, but the marriage bond undoubtedly helped their integration into the city elite. Good examples of this would be a Florentine called Cion, son of John, who upon arrival in Gradec married Benicha, a daughter of the distinguished city judge Lucas Boniolo, and Benedict, who married Margaret, a daughter of juror Brixius. Both Cion and Benedict later became city judges themselves.[16] In Varaždin, in the list of 1587, several members of the magistracy are even listed as sons-in-law of distinguished citizens: for example, bootmaker Anthony, son-in-law of butcher Simon, or butcher Michael, son-in-law of Kolar.[17]

The husband's connection with the wife's family sometimes went so far as to take its surname. Cion's aforementioned father-in-law, Lucas Boniolo, actually took the surname of juror Marco Boniolo, the father of his first wife.[18] It should be emphasized that such marriages were mutually beneficial – both to the sons-in-law, enabling them to rise in society, and to the family, which was thus further strengthened.[19]

In addition to marriages with daughters from prominent families, marriages with widows of prominent citizens also played a significant role in the inclusion of an individual in society. We have mentioned a few examples of Dalmatian widows, but there are many more traceable examples from the Interamnium region, where remarriages of widows were far more frequent.[20] Thus, Catherine from Gradec was first married to Michael, son of George Barbat; then to councillor Sebastian Soldinar; and the third time to Anthony Roth of Nürnberg, who became a juror in 1456. Interestingly, on that occasion he was listed as *Anthonius successor Soldynar* (Catherine's second husband), which shows that by marrying the widow of a distinguished citizen, a newcomer inherited in a way his position in urban society.[21] A similar case is the one of Akacius (Akoš), the third husband of Margaret, who is mentioned in the list of the city magistrates of 1457 as *Achaczius successor Eberspeck* after Jacob Eberspeck, Margaret's second husband.[22] This type of identification was not possible in Dalmatian towns.

These marriages with widows point additionally to the significance women had in the transmission of social prestige. By marrying a widow, followed by a gift of some of her property, a newcomer would take over a position in society that had previously belonged to her deceased husband.[23]

Intermarriages were not only important for the integration of individual immigrants into the circle of the urban elite, but also functioned as a means of gradual amalgamation of different groups within the urban community. The best example can be seen in Gradec, where several ethnic groups are quite discernible in the Middle Ages, to the extent that, even if only for a short period, from 1377 till 1437, the city magistracy was divided officially into four *linguae* (*lingua Sclavonicali*, *lingua Hungaricali*, *lingua Latinorum*, and *lingua Thetonicorum*). During this period, the city judge was from a

different group each year, and the same number of members of the city magistracy came from each of the groups. However, all this time members of the urban elite of different ethnic origins intermarried, and this contributed to the gradual unification of the urban community.[24] For example, a certain Margaret, who came from an Italian family, married first goldsmith Sebastian, a judge from the Slavic group, and afterwards John, son of Paul, a judge from the Hungarian group. Margaret's granddaughters, daughters of hers and Sebastian's son Michael, were also married to members of different ethnic groups. Catherine married juror Leonard, son of Henry from Bavaria; Magdalene married judge Valentine Šaronić from the Slavic group; and Ursula married a Hungarian judge and goldsmith Paul from Kisjenő. And finally, Barbara married first the Hungarian juror and goldsmith Benedict from Baranya, and later the former judge Thomas Horvatin from the Slavic group.[25]

The examples also show that newcomers often first married people of the same ethnic origin as theirs and later, when they had established themselves, marrying on the same social level became more important. This is quite evident in the aforementioned case of Cion, son of John. His first wife was Benicha, daughter of Luka Boniolo, who was an immigrant from Florence like Cion. Cion's second wife, Katarina Klarić, a sister of the city judge Marin, was from medieval Croatia.[26]

The importance of women in these integration processes of individuals and groups via family connections seems obvious. However, a careful analysis of individual cases shows that they were not only passive participants in the marriage plans of their male family members, but also seem to have played an active role. Our first example is widow Cicca, foundress of the aforementioned nunnery of St Mary in Zadar in the eleventh century. In her foundation charter, she stated that she had decided to enter the monastery with her older daughter and to "subject the younger one to the marital yoke".[27] The role of women as planners and negotiators is evident in the specific situation regarding the numerous daughters of Cosa de Saladinis. Of his six daughters (at least), only Peregrina, widow of Francis de Grisogonis, and Honesta, wife of Vučina de Matafaris, survived the Black Death. Peregrina took care of the family orphans – the granddaughter and son of their two dead sisters – as one of the guardians as well as the actual carer. Both children had lost their parents and the rest of their close relatives to the plague. The situation in Zadar was made even worse by the fact that most living male members of all families in question were in confinement or exile at the time after the anti-Venetian rebellion had been stifled. When these children grew up, they were both married to members of de Matafaris family, into which their other only surviving maternal aunt and grandaunt, Honesta, had already married.[28] We may presume that the specific circumstances of death of their immediate paternal male kin influenced the more proactive involvement of the female kin in the marriage policy, but the generally important role of women is, nevertheless, obvious.

Urban elites also had interest in establishing marriage connections with elites in the surroundings of the city. Unfortunately, there are not many documented cases of marriages between Croats and Dalmatians of higher status, but it is possible that there were more, especially in the period before the Venetian restrictions. In 1273, the Venetian authorities allowed a daughter of the Zaratin nobleman Rainerius de Varicassis to marry a man in the Slavic hinterland, although only under the condition that she would not receive any of the estates from the inheritance of her parents. After that, they immediately forbade any other marriages of Zaratins with Slavs.[29] This decision was probably caused by the fear that intermarriages with people outside of the district could lead to the alienation of land of the commune, because women who married out of the commune's territory could bequeath the property they had inherited from their parents to their children. This fear was present even when the commune and the hinterland were under the same sovereign.[30]

However, the sources show that there were intermarriages between the Dalmatian and Croatian/Slavic nobility. More Dalmatian noblewomen (18) married Croatian and Slavic noblemen than vice versa (13). Interestingly, despite Zadar being the Dalmatian city under most pressure from the Venetian authorities not to allow its citizens to intermarry with Slavs, the Zaratins who did so (21) greatly outnumbered the Spalatins (4) and the Tragurins (7). The Dalmatian spouses who married Croats belonged to the greatest and richest Dalmatian families, which could explain the high percentage of Zaratins, as their nobility was the strongest and most numerous in the region. The origin of these Zaratin families – Croatian or not – played no part in the selection of marriage partners. Politics, however, did play an important part, since most of these families were connected in some way to the Šubići as their supporters and retainers, and/or had economic interest in the hinterland. Dalmatian in-laws could serve as the mediators between their Croatian affines and their hometowns. Zadar also had the most favourable opportunities for expanding its territory, because, unlike other cities, it did not have natural obstacles towards the hinterland. Marriages and inheritance rights that came from them may have been a way to enlarge the estates of the Dalmatian nobility and, consequently, the territory of Dalmatian towns.[31]

In the Interamnium, one also finds examples of marriages between citizens and the nobility of the surrounding area. Several sons-in-law of John Perović, a distinguished citizen of Gradec, were members of the noble communities of Svetačje and Klokoč. There were also a number of marriages between citizens of Gradec and members of the noble community of Turopolje.[32] Such relations were encouraged by the intensive business connections between urban and noble communities, and the fact that some members of the noble communities migrated to the city and became involved in crafts and trade.[33]

It is noteworthy that marriages between noble girls and citizens were characteristic of certain families. Noble girls married to citizens include Anne, Margaret, and Helen, daughters of Peter *de Lomnica Inferiori*, as well

as Magda and Jelka, daughters of Urban *de Mraclin*. Helen, daughter of Fabian *de Lomnica Inferiori*, and her granddaughters Dorothy and Agnes were likewise married to citizens of Gradec. This also shows that those families in which such marriages occurred were likely to repeat the pattern over several generations.[34]

The same phenomenon can be observed in the coastal regions. The role of women in arranging these marriages seems important, since sometimes the aunts who married into another community helped with the dowry. For example, Prija, wife of Nicholas de Civalellis from Zadar, paid a dowry for her niece Grazia, daughter of the Croatian nobleman Matthew Vučetić, who married Žuve (John) de Civalellis, Nicholas's cousin. When Madius of Micha from the de Madiis family of Split negotiated his marriage with Slava, daughter of the widow Vukosava Krusić, daughter of Count Andrew of Hum, it was arranged that one quarter of her dowry would be paid by her aunt Dragoslava and her husband, a Spalatin nobleman.[35]

Although we have managed to present here only some examples and merely touch upon some issues because of limited space, we hope to have shown that marriages played an important role in building social networks in both Mediterranean (Dalmatian) and Central-European (the Drava-Sava Interamnium) urban communities. Immigrants of various backgrounds and interests successfully integrated into the city elites by marrying daughters or widows of distinguished citizens, using the social connections and economic background of their spouses and their families. In the Interamnium, immigrants even identified themselves in documents by accepting the family identity of their wives. Marriages provided ways for the urban elites and their neighbours of elevated status to pursue economic and political interests in the surroundings of the cities, regardless of possible legal restrictions.

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Notes

1 Charlotte Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in Late-Medieval York 1476–1525" (PhD diss., University of York, 2000), 17–18; see various articles and literature cited in: Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (eds), *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: The City and the Newcomers* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2020) (hereafter: *The City and the Newcomers*).

2 We will concentrate here mainly on the cities in northern and central mainland Dalmatia – Zadar, Trogir, and Split. For the situation in Dubrovnik, see, for example, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, "For the Benefit of the Family and the City:

Marital Networking of the New Citizens in Late Medieval Dubrovnik", in *The City and the Newcomers*, 233–254.

3 For a comparison of the two types of urban settlements, see: Tomislav Raukar, "Gradec i grad na hrvatskom prostoru" [Gradec and the city in the territory of present-day Croatia], in *Zagrebački Gradec 1242–1850*, ed. Ivan Kampuš, Lujo Margetić and Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1994), 13–17; Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* [Croatia in the Middle Ages: Territory, people, ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1997), 143–150; Gordan Ravančić, "Društvo: gradska naselja (mediteranske komune, slobodni kraljevski gradovi, trgovišta)" [Society: Urban settlements (Mediterranean communes, free royal cities, market towns], in *Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja. Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, ed. Marija Karbić, 63–77 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2019). A similar situation to that in the Interamnium can be observed in Hungary proper. About the development of urban societies in that area, see, for example, István Petrovics, "The Cities and Towns of Medieval Hungary as Economic and Cultural Centres and Places of Coexistence: The Case of Pécs", *Colloquia. Journal for Central European History* 18 (2011): 5–9.

4 Cf. Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: The Newcomers and the City (An Introductory Study)", in *The City and the Newcomers*, 11–33.

5 Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, "Etnički odnosi u srednjovjekovnom Zadru prema analizi osobnih imena" [Ethnic relations in medieval Zadar according to the analysis of personal names], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 19 (1972): 99–170.

6 The Šubići were the most prominent Croatian kindred, who gradually came to dominate medieval Croatia in most of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. During this period, they also obtained governorships of most Dalmatian towns (Šibenik, Trogir, Split). Cf. Damir Karbić, "The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred" (PhD diss., Central European University Budapest, 2000).

7 Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Integration of Immigrants among the Dalmatian Nobility before the Mid-14th Century", in *The City and the Newcomers*, 102–103; about the Buffalis and the Kazarica, see: Mladen Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat u srednjem vijeku" [The patriciate of Trogir in the Middle Ages], *Rasprave iz hrvatske kulturne prošlosti* 2 (2002): 39–41 and 80–83; see also, but with fewer details on the medieval period: Mladen Andreis, *Trogirsko plemstvo do kraja prve austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji (1805.)* [Trogir's nobility before the end of the First Austrian Government in Dalmatia (1805)] (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 2005), 136–140, 219–220.

8 Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad: Dubrovačka obitelj od XIII do XV stoljeća* [Lineage and city: The family in Dubrovnik from the thirteenth until the fifteenth century] (Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1994), 87, 90–91, 106; Lujo Margetić, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* [Croatian medieval family and inheritance law] (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996), 96, 170–193.

9 Miho Barada (ed), *Trogirski spomenici/Monumenta Traguriensia*, vol. 1/1, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium (hereafter: MSHSM) 44 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1948), doc. 5, p. 94, doc. 133, p. 200, doc. 161, p. 216, doc. 162, pp. 216–217.

10 Šime Ljubić (ed), *Listine o odnošajih između Južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents about the relations between South Slavic peoples and the Republic of Venice], vol. 1, MSHSM 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1867) (hereafter: *Listine*), doc. 515, p. 340.

11 Nikolić Jakus, "Integration of Immigrants", 104–106.
12 Branka Grbavac, "Prilog proučavanju životopisa đenoveškog i zadarskog plemića Baltazara de Sorbe, kraljevskog admirala" [A contribution to the research on the biography of Genoa's and Zadar's nobleman Baltazar de Sorba, a royal admiral], in *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*, ed. Lovorka Čoralić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 227–240.
13 Nikolić Jakus, "Integration of Immigrants", 121–123.
14 Nikolić Jakus, "Integration of Immigrants", 116–119.
15 Gianni's father-in-law was judge and consul of Trogir and also held other offices at the time. One of his wife's brothers became bishop of Zagreb (Blessed Augustin Kažotić), another nephew bishop of Trogir. One of Gianni's sons also became judge of Trogir, while the other became a canon in the chapter of Trogir. See Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat", 42–47, 123–124; *Trogirsko plemstvo*, 129, 146–153.
16 About Cion, see: Bruno Škreblin, *Urbana elita zagrebačkog Gradeca. Od sredine 14. do početka 16. stoljeća* [The urban elite of Zagreb's Gradec from the mid-14th to the beginning of the 16th century] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018), 263–265, and about Benedict and his marriage with Margaret, see: Marija Karbić and Bruno Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć. Uloga pripadnica gradske elite u političkom, društvenom i gospodarskom životu zagrebačkoga Gradeca" [Concealed power: The role of female members of the city elite in the political, social, and economic life of Zagreb's Gradec], *Povijesni prilozi* 36.53 (2017): 11.
17 Josip Barbarić (ed), *Zapisnici poglavarstva grada Varaždina (Protocolla magistratus liberae et regiae civitatis Varasdini)*, vol. 1 (Varaždin: Historijski arhiv Varaždin, 1990), 60–61.
18 Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić (ed), *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba/Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 11 (Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1889–1905) (hereafter: *MCZ*), vol. 4, 197, vol. 5, 36. Lucas himself was an immigrant from Italy. Cf. Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 250.
19 For more examples, see: Bruno Škreblin, "From Newcomer to Town Judge: The Role of Newcomers in the Formation of Urban Elite in Zagreb's Gradec", in *The City and the Newcomers*, 55–57.
20 Karbić and Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć": 22–23.
21 *MCZ*, vol. 7, 104.
22 *MCZ*, vol. 7, 121.
23 This was possible in the Interamnium because of the importance of women in the economic life of these towns and the equality between women and men in matters of ownership. About this, see: Marija Karbić, "Women and Property in Medieval Slavonian Towns", in *Towns and Cities of the Croatia Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 439–454.
24 Bruno Škreblin, "Ethnic Groups in Zagreb's Gradec in the Late Middle Ages", *Review of Croatian History* 9 (2013): 38–45.
25 Karbić and Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć": 12; Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 88.
26 *MCZ*, vol. 9, 329.
27 Tadija Smičiklas *et al.*, *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije/Codex diplomatiucs regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1967), doc. 73, p. 101.
28 Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva. Zadarske plemićke obitelji i posljedice mletačke opsade 1345./1346. i Crne smrti" [Times of war, plague, and captivity: The noble families of Zadar and the consequences of the Venetian siege in 1345/1346 and the Black Death], *Povijesni prilozi* 37.55 (2018): 20–21.

29 1273, *Listine*, doc. 145–146, pp. 106–107.
30 For example, the commune of Split forbade fathers to bequeath estates to their daughters if they married others than citizens of Split: Antun Cvitanić (ed), *Statut grada Splita* [The statute of city of Split] (Split: Književni krug, 1987), 906–907.
31 Zrinka Nikolić, "The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir and Zadar" (PhD diss., Central European University Budapest, 2004), 46–48; Sandra Begonja and Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "The Noble Families of Butovan and Botono in Medieval Zadar: Family Structure, Property Reconstruction, and Social Life", *Povijesni prilozi* 38.56 (2019): 81–82.
32 Bruno Škreblin, "Pripadnici plemićke zajednice iz Klokoča na zagrebačkom Gradecu u 15. stoljeću. Primjer uloge sitnog plemstva u formiranju urbanih elita" [Members of the noble community of Klokoč in medieval Zagreb: An example of the role of petty nobility in the formation of urban elites], *Ascendere historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, ed. Marija Karbić, Hrvoje Kekez, Ana Novak, and Zorislav Horvat (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 67–80; Marija Karbić, "Heiratsstrategien des Kleinadels von Turopolje (Slawonien) im späten Mittelalter", *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 29.1–2 (2002): 172–174.
33 Suzana Miljan, "Plemićka obitelj Krupić iz Velike Mlake u 15. i 16. stoljeću" [The noble Krupić family of Velika Mlaka in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 29 (2011): 111–116.
34 Karbić, "Heiratsstrategien": 172–174.
35 Nikolić, "The Formation", 47; Gregor Čremošnik, "Prilog biografiji Mihe Madijeva" [A contribution to the biography of Michael of Madius], *Historijski zbornik* 9 (1956): 119–124.

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5 Inclusion and exclusion. Intercultural relationships in Old Warsaw in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in light of the municipal registers

Agnieszka Bartoszewicz

It has already been stressed in the source literature that late medieval and modern European towns played the role of gathering places for the members of many social groups. Obviously, the nature of this role depended on the size, location, and importance of the town as a centre of trade and culture. From our perspective, these cities are particularly worthy of attention as they played the biggest role as contact centres bringing together different ethnic, legal, linguistic, and religious groups.[1] Christian Jacob, a French historian, describes such cities as "the lighthouse cities" (*villes phares*).[2] Regarding East-Central Europe, one can easily define Prague,[3] Buda,[4] Cracow,[5] Vilnius,[6] Lviv,[7] and Gdańsk (Danzig)[8] as such centres, along with Warsaw, albeit in a slightly limited manner.

Actually, contemporary Warsaw consisted of two towns: Old Warsaw and New Warsaw. New Warsaw was chartered in 1408 and existed as a small settlement in the shadow of its older and bigger neighbour. Old Warsaw already operated as a town at the beginning of the fourteenth century. One can observe its dynamic development after the Polish-Lithuanian union in 1385. The town, through its location on the trade route to Lithuania, started to participate in long-distance economic life.[9] It is the city of Old Warsaw and the possibilities of researching the relations between the citizens of Old Warsaw and the representatives of other ethnic and religious groups that will be the focus of my essay. The main goal is to analyse the denominations used to describe members of various ethnic and religious groups who appeared before the municipal authorities and were involved in various legal actions. The source for this study is the source material produced in the late medieval and early modern period of Old Warsaw's chancery: the bench court registers (preserved from 1427) and the municipal council registers (preserved from 1447).[10] The entries in the books were written down during the sessions of both the town council and the tribunal of the aldermen of Old Warsaw. A considerable proportion of the matters which were put into writing during these sessions concerned the transfer of rights regarding real estate and financial agreements. A substantial number of entries concern disputes, claims of payments of debts, the presentation of legal proof (in

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the form of testimony, oaths, or statements), pledges, as well as sentences proclaimed by the town officials and their execution. Yet another important group of entries concerns the appointments of legal plenipotentiaries who represented parties before the tribunal in single or multiple cases. The majority of clients of Old Warsaw's Town Hall were obviously its citizens; however, we also note the presence of members of different social classes (legal systems): the nobility, clergy, and peasantry. Members of different ethnic and religious groups: the Jews, the Ruthenians, the Lithuanians, the Germans, etc., would also regularly visit these offices.

Methodology

My research on intercultural relations in Old Warsaw focuses on the following questions:

- firstly, the kind of contact between Old Warsaw citizens and members of other ethnicities and religions;
- secondly, the manner in which those "others" were perceived, defined and described;
- and finally, the influence of intercultural contacts on the intellectual culture of Old Warsaw citizens.

Before approaching the analysis of source material, it is necessary to make some initial assumptions and establish the manner in which these sources will be analysed. We have to bear in mind that the recording of legal activity in the town book was only a part of the procedure that took place *coram iudicio*, and it is assumed that it was performed in the vernacular for the most part. It was a physical, spoken, and written performance demonstrating the coexistence of the two modes: written and oral. Verifying the validity of deeds presented during a trial, making entries in the town book, recording verdicts, and reading aloud, all these activities were parts of the performance as well. The documents are also the sole trace of the procedure which we have at present.[11]

This statement necessitates the asking of some further questions, regarding the creation of records in town books. The first question concerns the municipal clerks, their tasks, and their influence on the content of the registers.[12] The Old Warsaw town books were kept by professionals of the written word who worked in the urban chancery for a long time. Their professional formation was sufficient to make a career in the municipal chancery. For example, the bench book for the years 1453–1471 was kept by one scribe, the book for the years 1497–1511 by two scribes, with the same pattern repeated for the books from the years 1511–1524 and 1524–1535.[13]

The basic question that needs to be asked when analysing this specific source material is: Who was making the decision on the manner in which people approaching the town office were recorded; and what was the

motivation behind using one description rather than another? To what extent do the town book records illustrate the real events that took place in the town hall or the village mayor's house? Do they document the events and the emotions? Did their content depend solely on the scribe, or did he try to include the actual words and sentences spoken by those involved into the formula he used? Was the text controlled in any way by the town hall officials or by the participants of the case, the trial, or the transaction? Were they able to read and understand the written record?

The answer to the last question must be "yes". The majority of cases recorded in the bench and council registers concern the interests and conflicts that took place among the citizen elite: the merchants and wealthy craftsmen. In the second half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, these citizen circles were using writing, also in Latin, in their everyday activities, which fact is confirmed by entries in their trade registers, and by their commercial letters. From 1436 comes the earliest evidence of the use of "personal letters with seal" by the inhabitants of Old Warsaw.[14] In the sixteenth century, we can observe numerous mentions concerning their business registers.[15] Thus, a vast group of citizens understood the records made in the town book; it may, therefore, be assumed that the scribe was working under more or less rigid control and supervision, and that the citizens had an influence on the manner in which their cases were recorded, regardless of the record's language. And this last issue, namely the language of records, cannot be omitted in the context of the topic discussed.

Latin and vernaculars in the Old Warsaw registers

Latin was the main language of the registers until the 1570s–1580s. Of course, the oral legal procedures were held in the vernacular: Polish or German. Notes in German appeared in the fifteenth-century records. This language was most often used by municipal clerks to record financial transactions between local merchants and their business partners from Breslau (Wrocław), Thorn (Toruń) and Danzig.[16] A number of conflicts between powerful Warsaw families were also written in German.[17] From the mid-1460s, notes in German gradually started to disappear. As far as the sixteenth-century records are concerned, the entries composed entirely in German are copies of court sentences and legal counsels (*Urteile*) promulgated by the municipal council of Thorn in 1508,[18] as well as statements issued by the council of Breslau (1511 and 1516).[19] The same linguistic choice can be seen also in the letters written by Warsaw citizens to their business partners or family members from Breslau (1511) and Nürnberg (1521 and 1525).[20] However, we can suppose that oral proceedings took place in German more often, and evidence of this comes in the form of single words used in the records. For example: Hannus Aberhart, a merchant, was identified in a note first as *von Danczk*, but afterwards the Latin-Polish indication *de Gdanczk* was added.[21] The absence of official records in German in the surviving clean

copies of the town books does not mean, however, that the use of this language was abandoned. A 1532 note about a document prepared in German by the village mayor himself (*cirographum de manu propria ipsius domini advocati in Almanico*)[22] is meaningful evidence of the dissonance between the language of the official books and the skills and linguistic habits of Old Warsaw's power elite.

It is clear that vernacular terminology and phrases featured in Latin texts all over Europe, and everywhere they appeared they referred to similar matters, such as the names of people and places, legal terms, and finally to the phenomena of daily life and the economy.[23] They all reveal glimpses into the vernacular realities of life, as well as the relationships between various ethnic groups. In Warsaw's municipal registers, the majority of vernacular terminology is in Polish, consisting of the nicknames of people, legal terms and terminology relating to kinship and economic issues.[24] However, there are also German terms (e.g. *besserung*, *bogner*, *rotgisser*, *cleynsmet*)[25] and names of Warsaw citizens: Niclos, Nikel, Gritta, and Hans.[26] A few words, such as *rubl* and *sorok*, reflect contacts between Warsaw merchants and merchants from Ruthenia and Lithuania.[27]

The presence of notes, sentences, and words written down in vernacular languages indicates the influence of vernacular oral procedure on the scribe and his manner of work. Furthermore, oral procedure had an influence on Latin as well. It strongly suggests that the oral sphere might have influenced the scribe's work even to the extent of making mistakes, which, by the way, the scribe sometimes corrected himself.[28]

Ethnic minorities facing town authorities in Old Warsaw

While making records in town books, Old Warsaw scribes regularly noted the presence of "strangers", which was underlined by an epithet, such as: *Judeus*, *Almanus*, *Ruthenus*, *Lithwanu*s, *Bohemus*, *Armenius*, or *Italus*. It should be emphasized that these words were used in different circumstances depending on relations between the Old Warsaw community and members of a particular minority.

The uses of writing between Christians and Jews in medieval Hungarian towns have recently been discussed by Katlin Szende, and her remarks are informative for future research into the problems of urban literacy. The case of Old Warsaw confirms the thesis of Szende that "trust in writing was a major factor in facilitating and regulating Jewish-Christian relationships in everyday matters".[29] Furthermore, all scholars agree that the written word played an important role in Jewish society. Jewish literacy also developed in Poland and Lithuania.[30]

In Warsaw's bench registers, one can observe the regular presence of Jews: both local and coming from other Mazovian towns as well as more remote areas, particularly from Lithuania, because Lithuanian Jews conducted trade over the entire region.[31] The oldest evidence of Jews in Warsaw dates

from the beginning of the fifteenth century. There were about 120 individuals and they had their own organization complete with temple, rabbi and kahal court.[32] A considerable part of the matters that were put in writing concerned financial agreements. Often they are related to the participation of Jews in long-distance trade, as in the case of Bogdan, a Jew from Brest Litovsk who did business with the wealthiest merchants from Old Warsaw, as well as with merchants from Silesia and Danzig.[33] Obviously, numerous entries concerned business relations between burghers and local Jews as well.[34]

The manner of referring to Jews attending Warsaw's offices somewhat changed over the course of 100 years, although there was a dominant pattern: their name was given together with the term *Judeus* (*Judea*), and sometimes other information (usually their place of origin) was added (e.g. *Alexender Judeus*, *Schanko Judeus de Brest Ruthenico*, *Mucha Judeus*, *Judea Abrahamowa*).[35] When we compare the way in which Jews were described in the fifteenth-century city records of Warsaw and Cracow, a difference can be observed. While in Cracow such derogatory terms as *perfidus* or *infidelis* were the norm,[36] in the Warsaw chancery they were used sporadically (appearing in only 8 of the 63 entries concerning relations between Warsaw citizens and Jews). In Warsaw's town books, the terms *infidelis* or *perfidus* appear mainly in those records that concern conflicts, lawsuits, and court verdicts in cases between citizens and Jews.[37] It has to be stressed that the use of these epithets is noticeable in the records from the second half of the fifteenth century, and particularly from the second and third decade of the sixteenth century, when mutual Christian-Jewish relations in Warsaw were deteriorating, and Warsaw citizens were applying for the *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege.[38] Furthermore, in the sixteenth century, the term "some Jew" or simply "a Jew", with no name recorded, started to appear more often,[39] which can be interpreted as a demonstration of scorn and contempt; also, as a consideration of one side of the case being less important before the court. However, it needs to be added here that at that time Lazarus the Jew, a customs officer from Rawa (a town in Mazovia), was described as *providus*, an epithet only used to refer to citizens. This customs officer was, however, under the special care and protection of the Mazovian rulers.[40]

Notes describing the cases which involved Jews were generally composed in Latin; only two of them were written in German.[41] However, both contain interesting hints about the language in which oral proceedings were conducted. There are declarations of the payment of debts made by Schenke, a Jew from Brest Litovsk, on behalf of Niclos Winkeldorff, burgher of Danzig,[42] written in the first person singular. One can suppose that the first of these entries is a copy of the letter written by Schenke in German, which takes the form of a statement ("To all who will see or listen to this letter, I Schenke, the Jew from Brest Litovsk…").[43] The second is an oral statement which he also made in German during the court session. Warsaw Jews and Jews who came from small towns in Mazovia and Lithuania and who were

engaged in trade with Breslau, Thorn, and Danzig could use both Polish and German languages. However, Jews who made recourse to the courts used Latin written evidence relatively often. In one of the notes, it is stated that Mucha *Judeus* presented a document issued by the Old Warsaw bench court, which was later read out during the court session. The record in the book was composed in Latin, the conclusion being that the documents presented at court were also in Latin.[44]

It should be stressed that Jews usually represented themselves in Warsaw courts. Mentions of a Jewish person having a legal representative appear quite rarely, even though it was quite common to have one in Warsaw. The fact that there are very few mentions of the use of legal representatives suggests that when needed, Jewish people made recourse to legal advice both from other Jewish people and from professional lawyer-citizens of Old Warsaw. For example, two Warsaw Jews, Moyses and Lazarus, named Joseph, used a Jew from Nadarzyn near Warsaw as their legal representative. Another Jew, Moyses from Sochaczew (a town in Mazovia), used the advice of a specialist, who in the sources is referred to as *Martinus prelocutor*.[45]

In the case of expressions such as *Almanus*, *Ruthenus*, and *Litwanus*, the matter is not as obvious as in the case of *Judeus*. They raise multiple questions, to which finding the answer is often very difficult. The following examples are present in the analysed material: *Michael Ruthenus de Brest*, *Havrilo Rutenus*, *Ywan de Wylno*, *Paczuk Rutenus in Kyowo*, *Rutenus Stepanyecz de Wilno*, *Johannes molendinator Ruthenus*, *Ren Ruthenus notarius Civitatis Wylnensis*, and *Helia Ruthenus Skyba civis Belzenzis*.[46] What determined the use of the term *Ruthenus* in the note? Why was Hawrylo described as *Ruthenus*, but his opponent Ywan was not?[47] Did this denote religious affinity? Was this the manner in which a person appearing at the court was defined, or was it a perception of the Warsaw environment preserved in writing? Or maybe it was the scribe's opinion that finally decided on the use of this nickname? The distinctive status of the person referred to as *Ruthenus* is visible especially in the case of Hawrilo, who is most likely the same person as *Havrylo advocatus Rutenorum de Brzescz*e.[48] In this case, the nickname stresses the legal and religious status of the individual. It is most likely similar in the case of other people, but the only hint is their names (except for one miller recorded as Johannes). It is only in the case of a Vilnius scribe that the term *Ruthenus* might have alluded to his job as a specialist in writing documents in Ruthenian at the Vilnius town chancery,[49] his language skills, and so, potentially, also his place of origin.

The manner in which people coming from Vilnius are described requires a separate discussion, due to the fact that Vilnius played the role of a *ville phare*. Personal names appearing in Warsaw books demonstrate the legal, ethnic and religious diversity of Vilnius citizens, among them being *Jan Pyotrowicz, Andreas Rudom, Hryn Hraza de Lowyen cives Vylnenses; Thomas Smit de Wilne*, *Conradus Wythchemwalth civis Wilnensis*, *Johannes Czichy de Wilno*, *Zeno Holowczicz de Wilna*, and *Thartarus Carasz de Wilna*.[50] The

last example points to another ethnic group – Tatars– whose existence was observable in Vilnius, and in Old Warsaw as well.[51]

Generally, one can observe that a group of people coming from Vilnius, who often appeared at Warsaw offices, were not referred to as Lithuanians in official notes composed by the scribe. However, it seems that they were referred to in this manner outside of the official protocol. In 1534, four merchants – Bogdan Zithko, Andreas Huba, Maxim Borowik and Onayn Friczko, described as *cives et mercatores Vilnenses*, appeared at the Warsaw bench court – this form of description is consistent with that used in Warsaw's bench court books.[52] In the heading, the scribe referred to them as "some Lithuanians" (*Causa Joannis organista cum certis Litwanis*), which most likely reflects how these incomers from Lithuania were perceived by the citizens of Old Warsaw.[53]

A similar situation can be observed in the case of the *Alemanus* (*Almanus*) nickname. The answer to who was considered a German in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Warsaw demands deeper study, and thus I can only highlight the issue here. Among the incomers who approached the town officials, the largest group hailed from Silesia (Breslau) and Prussia (Danzig, Thorn). There is no doubt that they used the German language, also when communicating with their contractors in Warsaw, which is reflected in the city records from the fifteenth century, as well as in copies of letters from the first decades of the sixteenth century. However, as mentioned before, there are very few extant written records in German dating from this time. Undoubtedly, this was the period of Polonization of the Warsaw elite; nevertheless, the mentions referred to earlier (the village mayor's own writing in German)[54] suggest that in the oral sphere the German language still played a significant role.

In the town registers, Silesian merchants or those coming from Prussia are referred to by their name, surname, and place of origin.[55] The term *Almanus* was used in reference to the citizens of Old Warsaw, examples including *Stanislaus Almanus alias Nemecz*, *Stanislaus faber Almanus de Freta Nove Civitatis*, and *Petrus pictor Almanus*.[56] This is also how one of the Old Warsaw scribes is referred to in the bench court book: *Joannes Alemanus notarius Civitatis Antique Warschoviensis*,[57] better known as Johannes Froeben, originally from Namslau (Namysłów) in Silesia, who only spent two years in Warsaw.[58] The nickname *Almanus* needs to be treated not so much as an indicator of linguistic distinctiveness, but rather as a reflection of the way in which society defined that person. *Almanus* seems to function as an indicator similar to some personal features which were turned into epithets, such as the Bald (*Calvus*), the Lame (*Claudus*) or the Black (*Niger*), as illustrated by the nickname of the aforementioned Stanislaw: *Almanus alias Nemecz*.

* * *

To sum up this preliminary research, the preserved records in the Old Warsaw town books reveal the contact points between citizens of Warsaw and

representatives of different ethnic groups. They prove that differences were recognized by the community and also show that certain patterns may be found in the descriptions used for them. The initial analysis of the source material presented here shows that seemingly analogous nicknames demonstrating ethnic provenance carried different meanings and weight. It is easiest to identify what was meant by the term *Judeus*, which indicated religious affinity, and at the same time affiliation with a group of a specific legal status. This was of crucial significance for the city books (I have not found the expression *Judeus baptisatus*, a baptised Jew, in the analysed sources, which could have potentially complicated the analysis). A similar function was demonstrated by the nickname *Ruthenus*; however, *Litwanus* and *Almanus* did not have any official/legal importance, and when recorded in writing these terms reflected some common references used by the clients of the town office, and therefore their perception of those representing different ethnic and religious groups.

Notes

1 See: Stéphane Boissellier, "La cohabitation religieuse dans les villes européennes, Xe–XVIe siècles: quelques remarques préalables", in *Religious cohabitation in European towns (10th–15th Centuries): La cohabitation religieuse dans les villes Européennes, Xe–XVe siècles*, ed. John V. Tolan and Stéphane Boissellier (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 9–18; Derek Keene, "Introduction: Segregation, Zoning and Assimilation in Medieval Towns", in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende (London: Routledge, 2009), 1–14, and other articles in this book.

2 Christian Jacob, *Lieux de savoir*, vol. 1: *Espaces et communautés* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2007), part 4: *Villes phares*, 1120–1150.

3 Leszek Belzyt, "Sprachlich- kulturelle Pluralität in Prag und Krakau im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Topographie und Entwicklungstendenzen im Vergleich" in *Národnostní skupiny, menšiny a cizinci ve městech. Praha – město zpráv a zpravodajství*, ed. Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek (Praha: Scriptorium, 2001), 25–36; see also articles in *Krakau, Prag und Wien. Funktionen von Metropolen in frümodernen Staat*, ed. Marina Dmitrieva and Karen Lambrecht (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000).

4 András Végh, "Buda: The Multi-Ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary", in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation,* 89–100.

5 Cf. note 3; Hanna Zaremska, *Juden in mittelalterlichen Polen and die Krakauer Judengemeinde* (Osnabrück: Fibre Verlag, 2013).

6 David Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (London: Cornell University Press, 2013); Jakub Niedźwiedź, *Vilnius 1323–1655: The Rhetorical Body of a Medieval and Early Modern City*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, in press).

7 I.a. Myron Kapral, "Assimilation im frühneuzeitlichen Lviv: Sozialer Aufstieg, Glaubenswechsel und gemischte Ehen", in *Litauen und Ruthenien. Studien zu einer transkulturellen Kommunikationsregion (15.–18. Jahrhundert). Lithuania and Ruthenia. Studies of a Transcultural Communication Zone (15th–18th Centuries)*, ed. Stefan Rohdewald, David Frick and Stefan Wiederkehr (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 50–66.

8 I.a. Beata Możejko, "Late Medieval Gdańsk as a Bridge between Regions: Western European, Hanseatic, and East Central European Contacts", in *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe: Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, ed. Balazs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder and András Vadas (London–New York: Routledge, 2018), 227–235.
9 Various aspects of medieval and early modern Warsaw have been studied by Polish researchers. Recently, Krzysztof Mrozowski, *Przestrzeń i obywatele Starej Warszawy od schyłku XV wieku do 1569 roku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020).
10 *Księga radziecka miasta Starej Warszawy*, part 1: *1447–1527*, ed. Adam Wolff (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im Ossolinskich, 1963) (hereafter: *Księga radziecka*); *Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy z XV wieku*, *Księga nr 525 z lat 1427–1453*, ed. Stefan Ehrenkreutz (Warszawa: Warszawskie Archiwum Główne, 1916) (hereafter: *Księgi ławnicze I*); *Księgi ławnicze Starej Warszawy z lat 1453–1535*, ed. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020) (hereafter: *Księgi ławnicze II*); *Album Civium Civitatis Antiquae Varsoviae 1506–1586. Księga przyjęć do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy*, ed. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz (Warszawa: NDAP, 2000).
11 More on this subject can be found in articles published in Marco Mostert and P.S. Barnwell (eds), *Medieval Legal Process. Physical, Spoken and Written Performance in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011); Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter (eds), *Oral History in the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context* (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 2001); Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (eds), *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy II* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014); see also Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, *Urban Literacy in Late Medieval Poland* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017), 175–221.
12 The problem of town notaries has been discussed by many scholars, for example, Katalin Szende, *Trust, Authority, and the Written Word in the Royal Towns of Medieval Hungary* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), 121–134; Bartoszewicz, *Urban Literacy*, 223–291; see also articles published in: Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (eds), *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy I* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014).
13 *Księgi ławnicze II*, 23, 288, 495, 751. Nevertheless, their records reveal some mistakes and stylistic lapses. Urszula Zachara-Związek, *Łacina późnośredniowiecznych ksiąg ławniczych Starej Warszawy* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020), 31–103.
14 *Księgi ławnicze I*, no. 355.
15 *Księga radziecka*, no. 1119 (1515); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 3491 (1525), 3831 (1529), 4120, 4093, 4132 (1533).
16 For example, *Księgi ławnicze I*, nos. 618 (1441), 1435 (1452), 1475 (1453); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 149, 174 (1456), 279 (1457), 310 (1458), 746 (1463).
17 *Księga radziecka*, nos. 20 (1452), 25 (1454), 74, 75 (1465); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 68 (1455), 187 (1456), 536 (1459), 1442 (1470).
18 *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 2191.
19 *Księga radziecka*, nos. 954, 1339.
20 Ibidem, nos. 922, 1756, 1758.
21 *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 1209 (1468).
22 Ibidem, no. 4073.
23 Andrew Butcher, "Textual Production and Vernacular Behaviour: Locating a Fifteenth-Century Administrative Book", in *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300–1550*, ed. Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), 300–301.

24 *Księgi ławnicze II*, passim; *Księga radziecka*, passim.
25 For example, *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 612 (1461); nos. 1642 (1498), 1827, 1982 (1505), 2684 (1515).
26 For example, ibidem, nos. 71 (1455), 470 (1459), 610 (1461), 770 (1464); 858 (1465), 1226 (1468), 2840 (1517).
27 For example, ibidem, nos. 334 (1458), 733 (1463), 769 (1464); *Księga radziecka*, no. 1017 (1513).
28 More on this subject: Zachara-Związek, *Łacina*, 31–38.
29 Szende, *Trust*, 279.
30 For more on this subject, see, for example, Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 15–41; Aryeh Graboïs, "The Use of Letters as a Communication Medium Among Medieval European Jewish Communities", in *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-Modern World*, ed. Sophia Menache (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 93–105.
31 The most frequently noted presence was that of Jews from Brest Litovsk. About the relationships between the Jews and other inhabitants of Poland, see: Jürgen Heyde, "Relations between Jews and Non-Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Perceptions and Practices", in *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*, ed. Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek and Andrzej Żbikowski (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 198–218; Adam Teller, "Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Economy (1453–1795)", in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 7: *The Early Modern World 1500–1815*, ed. Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 576–606.
32 Emanuel Ringelblum, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, part 1: *Od czasów najdawniejszych do ostatniego wygnania w 1527 r.* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historji, 1932), 7–15, 54–55.
33 *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 282 (1457), 311, 312, 357 (1458), 443 (1459).
34 *Księgi ławnicze I*, no. 443 (1438); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 145 (1456), 1618, 1632 (1498). A separate subject are Jewish-Christian contacts noted in the registers for nobles, more of which in Zaremska, *Juden*, passim.
35 *Księgi ławnicze I*, nos. 57 (1428), 99 (1429); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 1253 (1468), 1618 (1498).
36 *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie. Wypisy źródłowe z ksiąg miejskich krakowskich. The Jews in Medieval Cracow. Selected records from Cracow Municipal Books*, ed. Bożena Wyrozumska (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1995), passim.
37 *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 282 (1457), 1198, 1623 (1498), 3705 (1527), 3868, 3869 (1529), 3901 (1530); *Księga radziecka*, no. 1283 (1518).
38 Ringelblum, *Żydzi*, 14–33. One can observe the conflicts between burghers and Jews concerning trade and crafts in numerous towns of early modern Poland and Lithuania: Jakub Goldberg, "De non tolerandis Judaeis. On the Introduction of Anti-Jewish Laws into Polish towns and the Struggle against them", in *Studies in Jewish History. Presented to Professor Raphael Mahler on his Seventy Fifth Birthday*, ed. Shmuel Yeivin (Merhavia: Sifriat Poalim, 1974), 39–52.
39 "cingulum cuiusdam Judei", *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 2683 (1515); see also ibidem, nos. 3845 (1529), 3975 (1531).
40 Ibidem, no. 4016 (1531); Ringelblum, *Żydzi*, 28–33.
41 *Księgi ławnicze I*, nos. 618–619 (1441).
42 Mentioned also earlier, ibidem, no. 577 (1440).
43 *Vor alle den, dysen briffen seen adir horen losen, czo bekenne ich Schenku Jude von dem Rewschen Bressky*, ibidem, no. 618.
44 *que littera in iudicio bannito est lecta*, *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 1253 (1468).

45 Ibidem, nos. 3901 (1530), 1900 (1503).
46 *Księgi ławnicze I*, no. 145 (1431); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 191 (1456), 771 (1464), 988 (1467), 1888 (1503), 2014 (1505), 3846 (1529).
47 *Havrilo Rutenus perdidit causam suam adversus Ywan de Wylno*, *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 191 (1456).
48 Ibidem, *Księgi ławnicze*, no. 671 (1462).
49 All official registers kept in Vilnius include numerous Ruthenian entries: Jakub Niedźwiedź, "Cyrillic and Latin Script in Late Medieval Vilnius", in *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns*, 103–104.
50 *Księga radziecka*, no. 1734 (1526); *Księgi ławnicze II*, nos. 847 (1465), 2014 (1503), 2285 (1509), 2368 (1510), 2967 (1519).
51 Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, 6–7.
52 *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 4218.
53 Analogous example: *Księga radziecka*, no. 1734 (1526).
54 Cf. note 22.
55 For example, *Casper Harnig de Wratislavia*, *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 129 (1456), *Barnhardus Scal de Wratislavia*, ibidem, no. 502 (1459), *Hannus During de Thorun*, ibidem, no. 793 (1463); *Hannus Aberhard de Danczk*, *Jacobus Blumenaw de Danczk*, ibidem, no. 1272 (1469); *Fabianus Hetfelt the Thorun*, ibidem, no. 2664 (1515), *Johannes Prockendorff de Wratislavia*, ibidem, no. 2696 (1515).
56 Ibidem, nos. 1530 (1497), 2064 (1506); *Księga radziecka*, no. 347 (1496).
57 *Księgi ławnicze II*, no. 2192 (1508).
58 Roland Czarnecki, *Kronika Namysłowa autorstwa Johannesa Frobena jako utwór dziejopisarstwa miejskiego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015), 49–70.

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6 The diplomacy of Sigismund of Luxembourg in the dispute between the Teutonic Knights and Poland-Lithuania[1]

Přemysl Bar

Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) is commonly known as a pragmatic monarch who was passionate about international politics, sought the highest possible ranks and pursued his own dynastic interests above all. Indeed, he was not afraid to actively engage in the numerous conflicts that plagued the whole of Western Christianity at the time, such as the Ottoman threat, the papal schism, the Hundred Years' War, the Basel Council's dispute with the papacy, or the Hussite revolution in Bohemia. Nevertheless, Sigismund could not neglect local affairs, and indeed he did not. Often his sovereign power in his own domains was contested, but mostly he confronted that with success.[2] The many facets of his activities and his unusual agility make it difficult either to present a comprehensive picture of this monarch or to entirely understand his actions.[3]

This study tries to define Sigismund of Luxembourg's involvement in the long-term conflict between the Teutonic Order in Prussia and the Polish-Lithuanian Union. The most comprehensive approach to the topic so far is the study by Jörg K. Hoensch from 1997.[4] There are, however, still some questions worth considering: Did Sigismund pursue a strategy with respect to the dispute in question, or did he react *ad hoc* according to the current calculation of gains and losses? Did Sigismund use this conflict only for his own interest or did he really seek the settlement of it?

Before addressing these questions, the specific nature of the two political entities remaining in dispute must be briefly taken into consideration. The Polish-Lithuanian Union (or Commonwealth) was simply created as a composition of two monarchies in the person of Duke Jogaila of Lithuania, who accepted the Catholic baptism Władysław,[5] as opposed to the so-called "Order State" (*Ordensstaat*) in Prussia, which was administered by a religious corporation – the Order of the Teutonic Knights, headed by a Grand Master elected by the Order's General Chapter.[6] The fundamental distinction was a different source of a legitimization of these two polities. While the monarchy was based on natural law, the existence of the Order (and hence the *Ordensstaat*) was in general founded on papal and imperial privileges.

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Personal meetings or dispatched envoys?

Sigismund of Luxembourg's intense diplomatic activity was based, as was usual at the time, on personal meetings of monarchs, but even more often on dispatching delegations of envoys, which also involved political correspondence. However, personal meetings between monarchs are an extremely interesting aspect because they provided an opportunity to conclude more permanent alliances or oral agreements which went beyond written contracts. In addition, personal meetings between rulers often took place in an atmosphere of court festivities, hunts, and tournaments, which naturally helped to deepen mutual relations (not to mention their impact as a visual representation of sovereign status). In this sense, the difference in King Sigismund's attitude towards the Grand Master, on the one hand, and the King of Poland, on the other, was very significant.

Sigismund met the Grand Master in person only once, in October 1382, as a young Margrave of Brandenburg and a candidate for the Polish crown, which he eventually did not obtain.[7] Yet this meeting had no relevance to his further relationship with the Grand Master.[8] By contrast, Sigismund met King Władysław Jagiełło and Grand Duke Vytautas (c. 1350–1430) several times in person.[9] Some of these meetings were extraordinary for their length, the solemn atmosphere of the ceremony, or the number and importance of the other noble participants accompanying the monarchs.

For example, in 1412, the King of Poland spent several months (from March to July) in Hungary, during which knightly tournaments, hunts, banquets and other royal festivities were held. The number of noble guests from all different parts of Europe (including envoys of the Tatars) who visited the so-called Congress of Buda was overwhelming.[10] In March, Sigismund and Władysław met in Ľubovňa (on the Hungarian-Polish border), where they signed an important alliance. From there they travelled together to Košice, where Władysław Jagiełło parted with his wife Anna, returning to Cracow. Władysław and Sigismund and their entourage continued to Oradea (Romania) to the shrine of the relics of St Ladislaus. The King of Poland visited many other places in Hungary (Visegrád, Buda), either with the King of Hungary or alone with his entourage. As a gesture of goodwill, Sigismund returned to Władysław the Polish crown jewels, which had been in Hungary since the time of King Louis of Anjou. In addition, King Sigismund also promulgated (24 August) his arbitration award in the Polish-Prussian dispute, for which the Grand Master sent a significant legation to Buda, but he himself did not appear in person.

Similarly, King Sigismund visited Cracow in 1424, where he stayed for two weeks (from 4 to 19 March), on the occasion of the coronation of Sophie, the fourth wife of Władysław Jagiełło. The appearance of King Eric of Pomerania (1381 or 1382–1459), as well as the papal legate and Cardinal Branda da Castiglione, the papal auditor Giuliano Cesarini and a number of other dukes and noblemen also added splendour to the coronation feast. The

Grand Master Paul of Rusdorf, again not attending, was represented only by his envoys, the Komtur of Thorn and the Komtur of Elbing. The coronation celebrations were also accompanied by diplomatic negotiations in which both Sigismund and Eric tried to persuade King Władysław to renounce the 1421 alliance with Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg (whose son was betrothed to Władysław's daughter Hedwig). The King of Poland, however, was not swayed, and instead allowed the text of the alliance treaty with the Margrave to be made public. According to the account of the Order's envoys, the monarchs Sigismund and Eric listened to it with apparent bitterness.[11]

Another opportunity for a solemn summit of the monarchs came in early 1429. King Sigismund did not hesitate to travel to a distant town called Lutsk (today in western Ukraine). Three monarchs gathered there: two Kings (Sigismund and Władysław Jagiełło) and one Grand Duke (Vytautas). There were initially several issues on the agenda reflecting international affairs, but eventually the offer of the crown for the Grand Duke by Sigismund predominated.[12] Since these matters also concerned the Teutonic Order, King Sigismund asked the Grand Master Paul of Rusdorf to send two empowered envoys to Lutsk.[13] Notably, Sigismund himself did not expect that the Grand Master would have to appear in person, which apparently was to the Grand Master's own satisfaction.[14]

There were also other less solemn meetings, which mostly took place on the Hungarian-Polish border and were related to the signing or renewal of alliances or peace treaties, as was the case both in 1397[15] and in 1423.[16] In 1419, the two monarchs even met twice: in May in Košice and in September in Nowy Sącz. During the first meeting Sigismund and Władysław jointly exerted diplomatic and military pressure on the Grand Master Michael Küchmeister (1414–1422) to accept King Sigismund as arbitrator in the dispute between him and the King of Poland. The King of the Romans and Hungary even considered (whether seriously or not is another question) going to Prussia himself to persuade the Grand Master in person, which eventually did not happen. At the September meeting, the King of Poland insisted that the arbitration proceedings, to which the Grand Master finally gave his consent, should begin immediately.[17]

Apart from personal meetings, the dispatching and reception of envoys also played a crucial role in diplomacy. In this regard, Sigismund followed the prevailing customs in late medieval Europe.[18] The personnel staffing of the envoy delegations was based on the current composition of his royal or imperial court, which was a varied mix of different social classes, ethnicities, and educational achievements. Of course, Sigismund valued loyalty to himself the most; the other competences that each envoy needed, such as good manners, language skills or education (not only formally juristic, but also in special cases practical knowledge of economics), were all secondary considerations.[19]

King Sigismund preferred the so-called dual or double envoys, in other words those he appointed among his *familiares* and who had a mandate or

power of attorney from him but were at the same time appointed by the Grand Master or the King of Poland. There are numerous examples of this, but the three listed below are quite representative.

The Archbishop of Riga Johann Wallenrode (ca 1370–1419) was a member of the Order, but at the same time a diplomat of King Sigismund (and before that of King Ruprecht of the Palatinate). For the Grand Master, he seemed to be a suitable representative of the Order at Sigismund's court. The Grand Master, therefore, expected that he would have prompted the King of the Romans to take a more favourable attitude towards the Order. As it later turned out, however, Johann Wallenrode defended the interests of King Sigismund more than of his own Order. This must have been even more frustrating, as the archbishop demanded huge amounts of money from the Grand Master for his services to cover the costs of his own court.[20]

Another example is the Teutonic Knight Claus Redewitz (d. 1436/37), originally from Regensburg), who was appreciated by King Sigismund not only for his managing of the (ultimately unsuccessful) project of defending a part of the Hungarian-Ottoman frontier under the command of the Teutonic Knights. Eventually, he also became more a diplomat in the service of Sigismund than of his own Order.[21]

A similar double emissary was the Polish knight and nobleman Zawisza Czarny (or Niger) of Garbów (d. 1428), who held credentials from both the King of Poland and the King of the Romans. In the correspondence between the monarchs, one can find both praise for the work of such an envoy and some criticism that at times he did not always communicate exactly what he was obliged to.[22]

The envoys had to face various dangers on their missions, especially those heading to Prussia or Lithuania because they had to pass through the territory of the Kingdom of Poland. This was the case with Sigismund's envoys who headed for Lithuania with a royal crown for Vytautas in 1430. They were prevented from crossing the territory of Poland. However, one part of the delegation was even ambushed and robbed before they had reached that far.[23] There were also not so much spectacular cases. For instance, in spring of 1414, King Sigismund dispatched his envoys with an invitation for both the King of Poland and the Grand Master to have their representatives come to Buda because of hearing a promulgation of his arbitration award. The royal envoys first arrived in Cracow, where they were said to have been deliberately delayed so that they could not present the invitation to the Grand Master in Marienburg on time.[24]

There is not so much source evidence about negotiations of both delegations (Polish and Teutonic) being held before King Sigismund at the same time. One example is a unique report of the Order's procurator from the time of the Council of Constance (July 1415).[25] It shows that King Sigismund was able to react promptly to developments in the negotiations so that the situation did not slip out of his control. When the Polish delegation requested the implementation of a certain part of the arbitration award from

Buda, the Order's procurator interrupted the negotiations with the demand that Poles declare whether they recognized the King of the Romans as their seigniorial lord. Instead of the Order's procurator getting the opposing side in a tight spot, King Sigismund addressed the same question to the Order's delegation, who were surprised and therefore asked for a short time to discuss among themselves the correct answer!

The personal meetings of the monarchs and the dispatched envoys clearly show Luxembourg's differing attitude towards the two partners. King Sigismund considered the King of Poland, respectively the Duke of Lithuania, as an equal political partner because they came from the ruling dynasty. Therefore, in correspondence they called each other either "brother" or "your brotherhood" (*vestra fraternitas*). In contrast, when Sigismund addressed the Grand Master, mostly in German, he generally used terms such as *erwirdiger und lieber andechtiger* (in a salute) or *dem erwirdigen … hoemeister deutsches ordens unserm lieben andechtigen* (in an external address).[26]

The term "andechtiger", which can be translated as "reverent", "devout" or "pious", was reserved for religious individuals. It means that the Grand Master was viewed by King Sigismund as the head of an ecclesiastical corporation that controlled territory in Prussia (and in Livonia as well) based on not only papal but also imperial privileges. The latter matter meant that the Grand Master's legal status towards the Roman-German Empire was not unambiguous from the beginning of the development of the *Ordensstaat* in Prussia.[27] For this reason, Sigismund repeatedly tried to impose obedience on the Grand Master by trying to make him recognize the seigniorial supremacy of the Empire and the King of the Romans over the Prussian *Ordensstaat*.[28] Sigismund's superior attitude towards the Grand Master was also caused by his different social origin, given that the Grand Masters did not usually come from princely, but at most county families in the Empire.[29]

Arbitration or alliances?

King Sigismund used arbitrations and alliances very often in his diplomacy. In the scholarship, it is thought that the king used these tools entirely intentionally according to his current political interests and needs, without really seeking to reconcile the Teutonic Order with the Polish-Lithuanian Union. To a large extent, this is certainly true, but if we look at these arbitrations or alliances from the perspective of Sigismund's long-term political goals, we will find that he acted according to a similar pattern.[30]

From the long arbitration process (1412–1420), which was suspended and resumed several times, we can draw two conclusions.[31] First, it cannot be excluded that the king's efforts aimed, indeed, for a fair reconciliation between the two adversaries. On the other hand, the engagement of Sigismund in the arbitration process also shows his growing conviction that true reconciliation based on the law or justice was not possible. One of Sigismund's envoys, in trying to explain the intention of the royal arbitration award in

Breslau, gave the following clear statement before the Pope in September 1420 about this unsolvable conflict:

> One side [i.e. the King of Poland] claims too much, while the other [i.e. the Order] wants to give up nothing. Therefore, both sides complain that they are harmed. How can be found a fair solution in such a situation?[32]
>
> [My own translation]

The hesitation of King Sigismund in promulgation of the definite arbitration award is evidenced by his attempt to postpone the promulgation to a later date than was the initial deadline of 6 January 1420. King Sigismund officially justified his request to shift the date by the fact that he arrived in Breslau the day before the date appointed for the promulgation. But was this the real reason?[33]

Since the Council of Constance (1414–1418), Sigismund had increasingly tended to act in favour of the King of Poland, who was convinced that the arbitration award would entirely confirm his claims. Even the Grand Master expected the same, and that is why he hesitated for so long to accept Sigismund as the arbiter. Only Sigismund's threats in the summer of 1419 to attack the Order's territory militarily along with the King of Poland prompted him to change his mind.[34] At the same time, however, the death of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Sigismund's brother, changed the situation completely (16 August 1419). As Sigismund saw growing opposition in the Kingdom of Bohemia, he needed the support of the Imperial Electors as well as the Teutonic Order.[35]

However, Sigismund simply did not want to sacrifice an alliance with the Polish-Lithuanian Union for support from the Empire and the Teutonic Order. Indeed, he wanted to keep both; therefore, he tried to postpone the promulgation of the arbitration he knew would never satisfy both sides equally. The Polish envoys insisting on the initial date may be explained by the fact that they believed in an arbitration award in their favour. This is no surprise, as it is even indicated by Sigismund's own behaviour.

The same reflection can be applied to alliances that King Sigismund created. In the first years of his reign in Hungary, there were prevailing tensions in Hungarian-Polish relations. This was due to unresolved claims to disputed territories. Podolia and Red Ruthenia were conquered by Poland soon after Jogaila's ascension to the throne (1386). Moldavia and Wallachia became, in turn, a field of competition between Sigismund and Jogaila as they both tried to subordinate the local rulers to their authority with varying degrees of success. The Peace Treaty of 1397 was intended to regulate these disputes.[36] At the same time, Sigismund offered himself as a mediator to reconcile the King of Poland and the Grand Master.[37]

Sigismund's long-running negotiations about selling the New March (Neumark), or at least pledging it, need not be necessarily interpreted as a deliberate move to increase tensions between Poland and the Order. His

primary goal was to obtain much-needed money. For a long time, the Grand Master hesitated to accept the New March as either a pledge or a possession because he was aware of potential conflicts with the neighbouring Kingdom of Poland. Eventually (1402), he agreed only because otherwise King Sigismund would have pledged that territory to the King of Poland.[38]

During the War of 1409–1411,[39] King Sigismund was an ally of the Order mainly for prestige reasons. As an imperial vicar (since 1396), and as a strong candidate for the throne in the Empire, he could not act otherwise. However, the alliance was concluded on his terms and eventually he provided minimal real military aid, moreover at a time (October 1410) when the defeat of the Order had already been decided.[40] Even before the famous Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg), Sigismund sought to reconcile the two sides after the arbitration award of King Wenceslaus of Bohemia had been strongly rejected by the Polish side.[41] It is worth noting that Sigismund encouraged the Grand Master to continue the war against Poland even after the Peace of Thorn (1 February 1411), where including the King of Hungary in the peace treaty was anticipated. However, the situation was fundamentally transformed by several facts: the tarnished reputation of the Order caused by the defeat at Grunwald, the unequivocal election of Sigismund as King of the Romans (21 July 1411) and the formation of an anti-Sigismund coalition (comprising the Dukes of Wallachia and Moldavia, Venice, and the Dukes of Austria) led by the King of Poland.

Furthermore, the Teutonic Order also got into financial trouble after their defeat at Grunwald.[42] The Polish-Lithuanian Union became a more attractive partner for Sigismund in the following years. This is evidenced by an alliance created in 1412 and then renewed in 1423.[43] In the texts of allied treaties, there is no mention of the Order or Grand Master at all. The main topic is the politics in Southeast Europe and the permanent threat of the Ottomans or (as in 1423) of the Hussites in Bohemia. But the scholarship has usually supposed that this alliance was primarily directed against the Grand Master of the Order in Prussia.

The only controversial moment is the treaty of 1412, when, according to Jan Długosz, King Sigismund is said to have verbally promised the King of Poland active support in the war against the Grand Master. After a prospective victorious campaign, the Order's territory should have been divided between Poland and Hungary. Subsequently, Sigismund allegedly asked that this promise should be removed from the official document because of public opinion in the Empire. According to Długosz's interpretation, this was a trick by which Sigismund forced Władysław Jagiełło to sign an alliance with him.[44] On the one hand, this chronicler's account could be dismissed as fanciful, but not totally fabricated. Two years later, in a letter to Sigismund, Jagiełło himself refers to a certain but vaguely described secret arrangement.[45]

It cannot be also overlooked, that when King Sigismund made an alliance with Poland, he also offered one to the Grand Master, in January 1412 as well as in January 1423. From Sigismund's perspective, the alliance with Poland did not only exclude an equivalent alliance with the Order, but was also

complementary.[46] The Grand Master, nevertheless, always rejected Sigismund's offer, because it was associated with a heavy financial burden on the Order, and the Order's leaders, given past experience, had little confidence regarding the true intentions of the King of the Romans (and above all, there was still the threat of imposing the seigniorial supremacy of the Empire).[47]

Sigismund needed the Order to support him, particularly when the King of Poland proved to be an unreliable ally, especially during the Hussite wars. Therefore, in 1429, Sigismund came up with a plan to promote Grand Duke Vytautas to king and the principality of Lithuania to kingdom.[48] This was not only about disrupting the unity in the Polish-Lithuanian Union, but also about creating a broad coalition of kingdoms which would have made an integrated barrier (the so-called "bulwark") against the threat of the Ottomans. This coalition was to include the Prussian *Ordensstaat*, the prospective Kingdom of Lithuania, as well as the Hungarian and Bohemian Kingdoms. The idea was never realized because of the death of Vytautas in October 1430. Nevertheless, King Sigismund insisted on pursuing this plan even afterwards. Instead of Vytautas there was another Duke of Lithuania, Švitrigaila (d. 1452), an ally of the Order and King Sigismund, who wanted to become King of Lithuania.[49]

Conclusion

As controversial as it may sound in the context of the current scholarship on the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg, it seems that his long-term interest lay in securing peaceful relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Union and the Prussian *Ordensstaat*. These peace efforts can be analogously placed alongside his efforts to reconcile a Europe divided by the papal schism or the French-English conflict. Yet Sigismund often inclined to one side of the controversy in specific cases. This fact, however, does not contradict the preceding statement. Indeed, his inclination to one or the other side occurred whenever someone threatened his interests. Therefore, the Grand Master could have strained relations with Sigismund whether he refused to reconcile with the King of Poland or (in a political constellation that changed) he refused to wage war against Poland. The same applies to Sigismund's relationship with the Polish-Lithuanian Union, whose rulers were welcome allies as long as they did not interfere with his sphere of power (e.g. the disputed territories between Poland and Hungary or the issue of Hussite Bohemia). Even though Sigismund was able to face all those challenges by using a variety of diplomatic tools, these sometimes lost their effectiveness due to the complexity of the conflict and the different legal and legitimizing nature of the two polities in dispute.

Notes

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the Department of Auxiliary Historical Sciences and Archive Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University.

2 For the situation in Brandenburg, see Jan Winkelmann, "Sigismund von Luxemburg als Markgraf von Brandenburg 1378–1388", in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, ed. Karel Hruza and Alexandra Kaar (Wien et al.: Böhlau, 2012), 137–160; for Hungary, see Elemér Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn, 1387–1437* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990); for Bohemia, see František Kavka, *Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně. Králem uprostřed revoluce* (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1998); for Empire, see Sabine Wefers, *Das politische System Kaiser Sigmunds* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989) and Christiane Mathies, *Kurfürstenbund und Königtum in der Zeit der Hussitenkriege. Die kurfürstliche Reichspolitik gegen Sigmund im Kraftzentrum Mittelrhein* (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1978).

3 Cf. Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit* 1368–1437 (München: C.H. Beck, 1996).

4 Jörg K. Hoensch, "König/Kaiser Sigismund, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen. Stationen einer problembeladenen Beziehung", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 46 (1997): 1–44, regards the results of Sigismund's efforts to resolve the Prussian-Polish conflict as modest, but he views the reasons for the failure in factors which were more beyond the king's handling.

5 Of course, the implementation of the idea of the union was not easy or obvious at all; see Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania. Volume I: The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3–127.

6 Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzimiński (eds), *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The political and ecclesiastical structures 13th–16th c.* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2015).

7 See Zenon Hubert Nowak, *Polityka północna Zygmunta Luksemburskiego do roku 1411* (Toruń: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1964) 32–39; Dariusz Wróbel, *Na pierwszym planie. Możni i szlachta polska wobec bezkrólewia po śmierci Ludwika Andegaweńskiego* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2020), 126–214 and 390–408.

8 According to Grand Master Conrad Zollner of Rottenstein (c. 1325–1393), it was he who was asked by the young Margrave of Brandenburg to meet face to face; see Friedrich Georg von Bunge (ed), *Liv-, esth- und curländisches Urkundenbuch* (= LivUB)*, Bd. 3* (Reval: Kluge und Ströhm, 1857), 488–489 no 1240. Cf. Wróbel, *Na pierwszym planie*, 157–161.

9 Norbert C. Tóth, "Zsigmond magyar és II. Ulászló király lengyel király személyes találkozói a lublói béke után (1412–1424)" [The Personal Meetings between Kings Sigismund of Hungary and Wladislaw II of Poland after the Peace of Lublin (1412–1424)], *Történelmi Szemle* 56 (2014): 339–356.

10 Cf. Balázs Nagy, "Ceremony and Diplomacy. The Royal Summit in Buda in 1412", in *The Jagiellonians in Europe. Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, ed. Attila Bárány (Debrecen: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, University of Debrecen, 2016), 9–20.

11 Cf. Bożena Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2012), 23–25 and Zenon Hubert Nowak, *Współpraca polityczna państw unii polsko-litewskiej i unii kalmarskiej w latach 1411–1425* (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996), 67–71.

12 Cf. Přemysl Bar, "Der 'Krönungssturm'. König Sigismund von Luxemburg, Großfürst Witold von Litauen und das gescheiterte politische Bündnis zwischen beiden Herrschern", *Roczniki Historyczne* 83 (2017): 65–101.

13 See the letter of Sigismund to the Grand Master of 30 November 1428 in Wilhelm Altmann (ed.), *Regesta Imperii XI. Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437), Bd. 2* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1900), 78 no 7146. Cf. Carl August Lückerath, *Paul von Rusdorf. Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens, 1422–1441* (Bad Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1969), 67–68.
14 In the fifteenth century, it was commonly known that the Grand Masters rarely left the territory of the *Ordensstaat*.
15 In 1397, Sigismund met with Władysław Jagiełło and Hedwig in Spišská Stará Ves, where they signed a peace treaty for 16 years. The King of Hungary proposing to mediate between the Grand Master and the King of Poland wanted to meet with the Grand Master in Gniezno, which eventually did not come to pass; see Nowak, *Polityka*, 67–70. See notes 36 and 37.
16 In March 1423, the alliance signed 11 years earlier was renewed in Kežmarok.
17 Zenon Hubert Nowak, *Międzynarodowe procesy polubowne jako narzędzie polityki Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w północnej i środkowowschodniej Europie (1412–1424)* (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1981), 83–92.
18 Martin Kintzinger, *Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Auswärtige Politik zwischen dem Reich, Frankreich, Burgund und England in der Regierungszeit Kaiser Sigmunds* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2000).
19 See Přemysl Bar, "Über einige Aspekte des diplomatischen Verkehrs zwischen dem Hochmeister und Kaiser Sigismund von Luxemburg", *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 26 (2021): 91–107.
20 Cf. Bernhart Jähnig, *Johann von Wallenrode O.T. Erzbischof von Riga, Königlicher Rat, Deutschordensdiplomat und Bischof von Lüttich im Zeitalter des Schismas und des Konstanzer Konzils (um 1370–1419)* (Bonn–Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1970).
21 For example, he travelled to Lutsk in 1429 with Sigismund as his courtier and envoy (not the Order's). Cf. László Pósán, "Nicolaus von Redewitz – ein Diplomat und Informant des Deutschen Ordens am Hof von Sigismund von Luxemburg", *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 26 (2021): 109–137 and P. Bar, "The Diplomacy of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Seeking Support from the Courtiers of Sigismund of Luxembourg" in *Graue Eminenzen in Aktion. Personale Strukturen informeller Entscheidungsfindungsprozesse an den Höfen des Spätmittelalters = Grey Eminences in Action. Personal Structures of Informal Decision-Making at Late Medieval Courts*, eds. Jonathan Dumont and Sonja Dünnebeil (in print).
22 Cf. Dariusz Wróbel, "Aktywność dyplomatyczna Zawiszy Czarnego na tle polityki zagranicznej Polski i Litwy w pierwszej połowie XV wieku", in *Zawisza Czarny. Rycerz najsławniejszy i najdzielniejszy*, ed. Tomisław Giergiel (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2012), 57–81.
23 Bar, "Der 'Krönungssturm'", 78–80.
24 See the letter of the Grand Master from 23 March 1414 in *Regesten zu den Briefregistern des Deutschen Ordens, Teil: 2, Die Ordensfolianten 8, 9 und Zusatzmaterial. Mit einem Anhang: die Abschriften aus den Briefregistern des Folianten APG 300, R/Ll, 74*, ed. Sebastian Kubon, Jürgen Sarnowsky, and Annika Souhr-Könighaus (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2014), 79 no. 10.
25 *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie, Bd. 2., Peter von Wormditt (1403–1419)*, ed. Hans Koeppen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 251–256 no. 121.
26 Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv, no. 5008. Cf. note 13.

27 Cf. Ingrid Matison, "Die Lehnsexemtion des Deutschen Ordens und dessen staatsrechtliche Stellung in Preußen", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 21 (1965): 194–248.
28 Cf. Ottokar Israel, *Das Verhältnis des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens zum Reich im 15. Jahrhundert* (Marburg a. d. Lahn: Johann-Gottfried-Herder-Institut, 1952), 3–41.
29 For the biographies of the Grand Masters, see Udo Arnold (ed.), *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–2012* (Weimar: VDG, 2014).
30 For more on this topic, see P. Bar, "Heirat, Bündnis, Schiedsverfahren. Außenpolitische Instrumente Kaiser Sigismunds gegenüber Polen-Litauen und dem Deutschen Orden (1410–1437)", in *Sigismund von Luxemburg, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen*, ed. Norbert Kersken and Paul Srodecki (in print); cf. Nowak, *Międzynarodowe procesy*, 22–47, 61–122.
31 The arbitration award was partially issued in August 1412 in Buda, and then should have been promulgated in 1414 but it was not. And thus, it did not come to pass until January 1420 in Breslau. See P. Bar, "A Tortuous Path to Reconciliation and Justice. Sigismund of Luxembourg as Arbiter in the Dispute between the Teutonic Knights and Poland (1412–1420)", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 66 (2017): 3–40.
32 *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie, Bd. 3, Johann Tiergart (1419–1428), Halbbd. 1. (1419–1423)*, ed. Hans Koeppen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 113 no. 39: *myn herre* […] *hat czwey teil, der eyns wolde zu vil han und das ander zu wenig geben, berichtet und cz[w]uschen yn usprochen, also das sie beide sprechen, sie sint beswert. Wie mochte hers gelicher han gefunden*?
33 Zenon Hubert Nowak, "Materiały źródłowe do sprawy wyroku wrocławskiego Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w procesie polsko-krzyżackim z 1420 r. = Quellen zur Frage des Breslauer Urteils Sigismunds von Luxemburg im Prozess zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden 1420", in *Przyczynki źródłowe do historii zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach = Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011), 85–88.
34 Nowak, *Międzynarodowe procesy*, 87–88.
35 Wefers, *Das politische System*, 75–76.
36 See note 15. Cf. Ilona Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1996), 58–66.
37 Bunge (ed.), LivUB 4, 184–185 no 1458.
38 Cf. Sebastian Kubon, *Die Außenpolitik des Deutschen Ordens unter Hochmeister Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407)* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2016), 193–210. Cf. Nowak, *Polityka*, 73–75.
39 See the most recent and most comprehensive collective monograph Sławomir Jóźwiak et al. (eds), *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409–1411* (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe, 2010).
40 Nowak, *Polityka*, 95–112.
41 In the spring of 1410, Sigismund even wanted to go with his retinue to Prussia to personally reconcile the conflicting forces; see Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, "Zygmunt Luksemburski wobec konfliktu Królestwa Polski i Wielkiego Księstwa Litwy z zakonem niemieckim wiosną 1410 roku – kilka nowych uwag", *Nowe Studia Grunwaldzkie* 2 (2016): 35–68.
42 According to the stipulations of the Peace of Thorn, the Order was obliged to pay reparations to Poland in the sum of 100,000 schocks (threescores) of Prague groschen.

43 Altmann (ed.), *Regesta Imperii XI/1*, 13 no. 199 (1412, Ľubovňa); *ibidem*, 387 no. 5493 (1423, Kežmarok).
44 *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae. Liber decimus et liber undecimus 1406–1412*, ed. Marianus Plezia (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1997), 190–201.
45 See the letter from 14 July 1414 in Jadwiga Karwasińska (ed.), *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum, tomus III* (Warszawa: Nakładem Biblioteki Kórnickiej, 1935), 226: […] *ideo petimus Vestram Fraternitatem* [i.e. Sigismund], *quatinus memores conclusionis secrete inter nos et Vos facte nobis consilia et auxilia Vestra opportuna* […] *prebeatis* […]. Clarifying this issue would require a separate study, because this secret agreement does not seem to contain exactly what the famous chronicler says.
46 This is clear in the text of the proposal of the alliance from 4 January 1412, in which King Sigismund at the same time obliges himself to help the Grand Master in case of war with Poland and Lithuania and commits himself to mediate a peace between the two sides within a certain period; see Erich Weise (ed.), *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert, Bd. 1 (1398–1437)* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1970, 2nd edition), 92–93 no. 87.
47 Cf. Wilhelm Nöbel, *Michael Küchmeister. Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1414–1422* (Bad Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1969), 46–59 and Lückerath, *Paul von Rusdorf*, 78–79.
48 See note 12.
49 Lückerath, *Paul von Rusdorf*, 123–133.

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7 The coat of arms of Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the choir of Barcelona Cathedral. The role and significance of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the nineteenth assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519

Aleksandra Stanek

The past hates haste and impatience. It reticently unveils some of its secrets as reward for laborious research. Although we are proud of the immense knowledge accumulated in countless scientific works, each one raises more questions and theories.

The notion of enquiry raising more questions applies to the subject of this article: the participation of representatives of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the nineteenth assembly of the Order of the Cavaliers of the Golden Fleece held in the Cathedral of Barcelona from 5 to 8 March 1519. While the historical significance of the Burgundian knightly order on the politics and tradition of medieval and early modern European societies is relatively well documented,[1] not much is known about the role of the members of the Jagiellonian dynasty who joined a network of prestige and influence by receiving the title of this splendid congregation.

The Order of the Golden Fleece was founded in January 1430 by Philip the Good (1396–1467) to commemorate his marriage to Princess Isabella of Portugal (1397–1471), celebrated the previous year. It is hard to disagree with the definition given by Professor Antoni Ziemba regarding the three major aims of creating and running this powerful and prestigious confraternity. First of all, the organisation sought to attach the independent Burgundian knights to the sovereign and his court by creating models of loyalty and fidelity and by strengthening the hierarchy between the duke and the fiefs. This was guaranteed by an oath of loyalty. Secondly, the focus of this Burgundian military order was to stand up for the Christian faith and, more specifically, to promote the idea of a new religious crusade. The crusade was meant to erase the shame of the defeat at Nicopolis in 1396, still fresh in the memory of the senior knights. Last but not least, the Order became an instrument for the promotion of chivalric piety, moving away from the

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concept of poverty and contemplative prayer (*devotio moderna*) in favour of the piety of action and combat (*vita activa*).[2] Most important to emphasize is the Order's aim of creating inter-dynastic networks in international politics.

Over the course of 129 years (1430–1559), there were 23 general assemblies of the Order of the Cavaliers of the Golden Fleece.[3] Although this idea of an international committee of nobles has survived to the present day,[4] the last, 23rd, general assembly took place in July 1559 in Ghent at the time when Philip II of Habsburg (1527–1598) held the dignity of Grand Master. Depending on political conditions, dynastic plans, geo-political threats and changes in the economic climate, the chapter of the Order consisted of variable numbers of cavaliers. There was nothing unusual in increasing the number of cavaliers by the authority of the Grand Master but, as a rule, the general assembly, among many decisions taken, deliberated and voted for new candidates to fill seats vacated by the deaths of their predecessors.[5]

From the very beginning, foreigners were accepted into the Order's ranks as the granting of dignities in the Order became a tool of international politics. As early as 1440, the first foreigner, Rhinelander, Federico III, count of Meur (?–1448) took his seat in the sixth assembly held in Saint Omer.[6] The first Iberian sovereign to be honoured, in 1445, with the golden collar of the Order was Alfonso V the Magnanimous, king of Aragon, Sicily and Naples (1396–1458). Soon the chain of arms adorned the shoulders of Ferdinand II of Aragon, the Catholic, King of Spain (1452–1516).

Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia (1506–1526), was the first among the Jagiellonian dynasty to receive, in 1516,[7] the title of cavalier of the Golden Fleece. This fact reveals a web of political threads woven around this appointment of the ten-year-old son of the king of Hungary and Bohemia, Vladislaus II (1456–1516) and nephew of the Polish king Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548).

In January 1519, two months before the assembly of the Order in Barcelona, the Grand Master of the Order, Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459–1519), died in Wels, near Linz. According to the Golden Bull of 1356 governing the Holy Roman Empire, his successor was to be chosen by a group of seven electors: three archbishops (of Cologne, Mainz and Trier) and four secular rulers in the persons of: the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Saxony-Wittenberg.[8,9] The obvious pretender to the imperial throne was Maximilian's grandson, Charles I of Habsburg (1500–1558), King of Spain since 1515. However, his accession was not an indisputable conclusion,[10] so in the months before the imperial election, planned for June 1519 in Frankfurt, Charles had been working hard to secure the support of the electors. The occasion to exercise encouragement and pressure was the nineteenth assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which Charles as the new Grand Master convened in Barcelona. One of the personalities whose favour was highly sought after was King Sigismund I of Poland, who was the legal guardian of Louis II, the under-age king of Bohemia and Hungary,

whose vote counted in the election of the new emperor. Louis had become a cavalier of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1515, aged nine, having already assumed the Czech and Hungarian thrones (in 1508 and 1509, respectively). Furthermore, as a result of the provisions of the First Congress of Vienna in 1515, Louis became a candidate for marrying Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), the granddaughter of Maximilian I and Charles's sister. This marriage took place in Buda in 1522, when 16-year-old Louis became a full member of the imperial family. Nonetheless, he had been treated as the emperor's son-in-law long before the marriage and had been adopted by Maximilian even before the death of his father, Vladislaus II.[11]

With all this in mind, it can be concluded that for the Habsburg imperial family, Louis was an important piece of the puzzle aimed at capturing the Hungarian and Bohemian dominions. The intention of exercising influence over the Jagiellonian prince as early as possible was also directed at his upbringing, morals and education which, in diplomatic reports sent to the Polish king by chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, were described as a disaster.[12] This was to prepare the ground for the Habsburgs already during the life of Louis II of the Jagiellonian dynasty, who from 1521 onwards was pushed towards a military confrontation with the Ottomans. This had a tragic outcome on the battlefield of Mohács in 1526, and in effect led to the takeover of Hungary and Bohemia by the Habsburgs.[13]

The presence of Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his uncle, Sigismund I, King of Poland at the nineteenth assembly, would have been a key element in Charles's bid for the imperial throne, but it seems the Jagiellons were unable to attend and were represented in Barcelona by Jan Dantiscus (1485–1548).[14] The priorities of Dantiscus's mission in Spain were the question of Queen Bona Sforza's (1494–1557) inheritance, the Emperor's support in the Polish-Teutonic conflict, the organization of an anti-Turkish expedition, and mediating in the conflict of Gdańsk and Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland) with the court of the Reich.[15] In March 1519, the ambassador of Sigismund I at the Spanish court took part in the closing ceremonies of the nineteenth assembly of the Order in Barcelona. In his letters to the Polish king, he underlined his admiration for the fact that Sigismund I and Louis II of Hungary were among several monarchs, including the Grand Master, wearing the splendid collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He also reported that the nineteenth assembly was held with great pomp and ceremony involving the whole city of Barcelona.[16]

Indeed, the ceremonies were spectacular. According to the statutes of the Order[17] promulgated in 1431, the assemblies were to last for four days and were supposed to be held in the choirs of city cathedrals to enable the diplomatic-political sphere to mix with the spiritual one. In Barcelona the congress could enjoy the blessing of Saint Eulalia, whose relics were present under the floor of the Cathedral presbytery. Since the foundation of the Order, the relic of a saint had always been an indispensable element of the ceremony performed at each assembly, as its participants spent as many

hours in prayer as in debate. The entire four-day Barcelona event was accompanied by numerous processions and sumptuous feasts in the adjacent palace of the kings of Aragon. Never had the Cavaliers of the Golden Fleece met outside Burgundy. The young King Charles I, for the first time in his reign, called the Catalan Parliament to gather in Barcelona in March 1519. It was convenient to have the Order of the Golden Fleece gather in the same city shortly afterwards. The splendour, prestige and glamour of the Burgundian tradition would add great value to the power and influence of the young Grand Master of the Order, the King of Spain and, potentially and hopefully, the Roman Emperor.

In the Archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona there is a copy of the chronicles which include a description of the ceremonies of the nineteenth assembly. Unfortunately, the original record was lost probably during the civil war (1936–1939), but a copy had been made by Ignasi Carborell, a Cathedral volunteer at the end of the nineteenth century.[18] The record of the ceremony reveals a great similarity between its course and all previous reunions established by the rigid paragraphs of the Order's statutes of 1431. This is particularly evident in the tributes paid to the cavaliers who had died between the conventions. The highest honour paid to a deceased knight was to have his golden collar of the Fleece carried by a white horse to the gates of the Cathedral, on the third day of the assembly, as was done for the first time after the death of Charles the Bold (b. 1433), who fell at the Battle of Nancy on 5 January 1477.[19]

The proceedings of each of the four days (5, 6, 7 and 8 March 1519, Saturday to Tuesday) were divided into two main parts, with a splendid banquet at the end of each day. The first day was the only exception, as it began in the afternoon. The morning celebrations started at nine o'clock as a solemn procession on horseback set off from the palace of the kings of Aragon to the Cathedral's main door, gathering crowds of onlookers in all adjacent streets. A codex of the period describes the opening of ceremonies thus:

> At three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, His Magnificence [the king] left the palace for the cathedral. Passed the royal chapel from its back and went in front without singing, then the most exalted lord Guillermo Raimundo de Vich, cardinal of the title (...) and Señor Martin García, bishop of Barcelona, with a pluvial cloak of very rich brocade, then many knights, who accompanied his Magnificence. Then followed the cavaliers of the Order of the Golden Fleece, proceeded hooded musicians with trumpets and clarions, (…) followed by the Kings of Arms clad in their coats of arms, (…) and two other kings of arms, with two Masters of Ceremonies.... They were all on horseback, two by two, dressed in crimson velvet and with their hoods. They passed through Regami street in front of the town hall and, arriving at the deputation, (then) they were received by the clergy of the cathedral, with a high cross (…), they went round the bishop's palace, entered the cathedral through

> the main door, where all cavaliers were seated in their corresponding chairs in the said choir. The Chantres of the royal chapel and solemn vespers were sung with the cathedral organ.[20]

Having crossed the main portal of the Cathedral, the cavaliers took their seats in the stalls of the choir facing the presbytery. The proceedings began with a solemn mass, singing and music which had been written exclusively for the Order of the Golden Fleece in the early years of its history.

The second part of each day's celebrations began with a procession at three o'clock in the afternoon and lasted a few hours. The sumptuous dinner in the palace that took all evening, and a good part of the night was each day

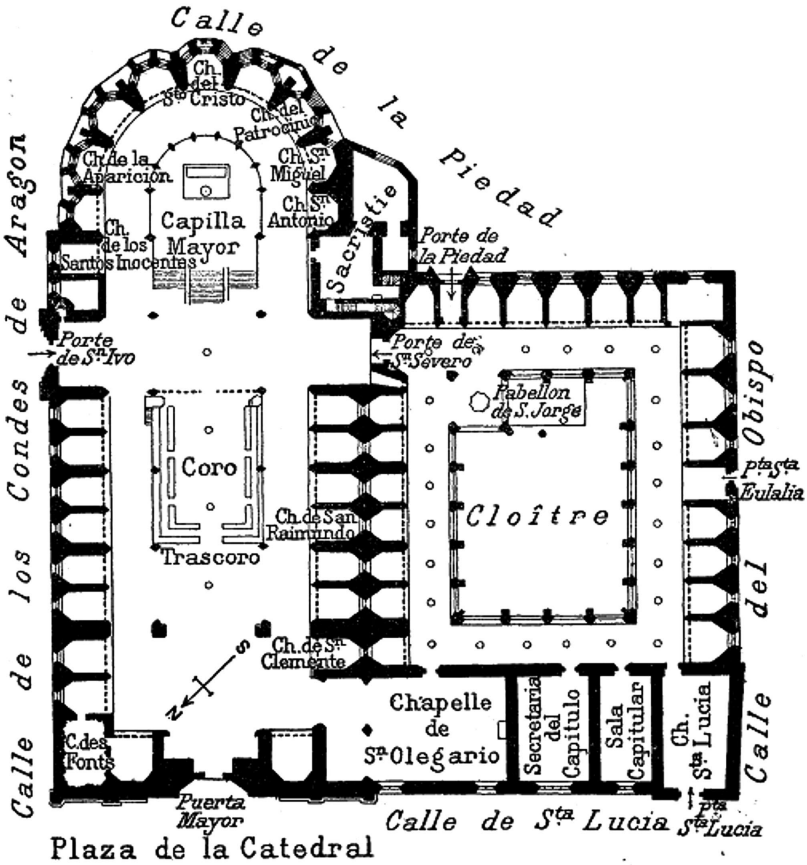

Figure 7.1 Plan of the Barcelona Cathedral with the choir in the main nave. Guide-Joanne Espagne et Portugal, Hachette Paris, 1906. Author's property

described in the report with the following words: "and they all returned in the evening to the palace with their Magnificence where they ate splendidly".

None of the proceedings could compare with those of the third day, the Monday celebrations, which were almost entirely devoted to the memory of the knights who had passed away to eternity. In this regard, the assembly of 1519 was very special as only two months earlier the Emperor and previous Grand Master, Maximilian I of Habsburg, had died:

> The following day, which was Monday, in the morning at 9 o'clock His Magnificence [the king] with the other Knights went to the Cathedral and took seats in their respective chairs; a solemn Anniversary was sung for the Souls of the Deceased of the Order. In the Presbytery a great chandelier was placed, with its thick candles, with the arms of the said Deceased and arriving at the offertory with the same ceremony of the previous day. Rose from the throne, his Mag.[nificence] and taking his candle, with the arms, offered it and thus the other knights offered each one their candle, with their own arms: and having offered all, his Mag. [nificence] returned to offer the candle of his grandfather the Emperor Maximilian and in the same way the other knights returned many times to offer for the deceased and the Masters of Ceremonies said that the knight for whom they were offering was dead, calling him by his name and surname; and they always offered until the mass was over….[21]

The choir of Barcelona Cathedral dates to 1371, which is when the episcopal throne was introduced there. The upper seats of the stalls were crafted between 1394 and 1399 by Catalan woodcarver and carpenter Pere Ça Anglada (?–1408). Timber shipped from one of the Flemish seaports was used for this commission, so it is quite probable that it had originated from the Baltic region.[22] It was 50 years before the lower row of seats was added to the stalls. For this job two Barcelona sculptors of Jewish origin were employed in 1458 by the Cathedral chapter: Maciá Bonafé (c. 1410–1460) and Antoni Claperós (active 1414–1458). During the reign of Ferdinand II, the Catholic, the stalls were embellished with wooden pinnacles over each seat and an ornate, wooden canopy over the archbishop's throne (Figure 7.2: seat 30). The spectacular pinnacles were the work of a German sculptor, Michael Lochner (?–1490), who received this commission in 1483. In 1490, master Michael died, and the work was completed in 1497 by his assistant, Johan Friederich Kassel (dates unknown) [Here Figure 7.2].

On 5 May 1517, the sculptors Bartolomé Ordoñez (1480?–1520) and Jean Petit Monet[23] (dates unknown) signed a preliminary contract[24] with the Cathedral chapter, in which they undertook to make new woodwork for the choir and to build marble walls to close the complex on three sides, leaving only the south-east side open towards the presbytery.[25]

At the beginning of 1519, the sculptor Antonio Carbonell (dates unknown) carved the elaborate decoration of gilded medallions and candelabra

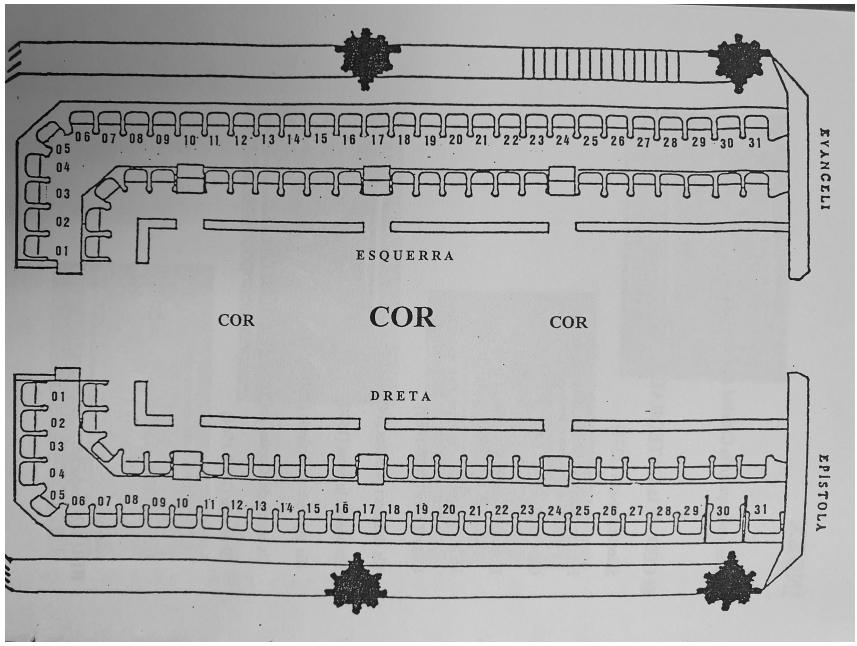

Figure 7.2 Scheme of the stalls' seats distribution. Ignasi Carborell, El cor de la Catedral de Barcelona, Catedral de Barcelona 1998

grotesques which serve as a frame for the heraldic tables of the choir stalls, as well as the balustrade columns that separate each backrest. Just before the assembly of 1519, the wooden low reliefs by Ordoñez and Monet with scenes from the Old Testament and the Passion of Christ were installed. Unfortunately, Bartolomé Ordoñez died in Carrara in December 1520, and his marble low-relief walls to frame the choir did not reach Barcelona until 1563, when they were completed by the Aragonese sculptor Pedro Villar (active 1541–1560).

The Order's ceremonial prescribed that the knights' coats of arms were to decorate the backs of the chairs of the Cathedral's choir, where the Chapter was to meet. Each coat of arms, surrounded by the collar of the Fleece and surmounted by a helmet, always facing the main altar, had to be painted on a rectangular panel of oak measuring 85 × 65 cm. Above and below the heraldic design, the name and titles of the cavalier who was to occupy the seat were written in Gothic script. It was significant that in the case of a deceased knight, the helmet with its crest was removed and the word "trespasse" was written at the end of the name and titles. After the offering of a Holy Mass for the dead, the coats of arms of the deceased were taken to the nave of the church so that the faithful could pray for their souls. The coats of arms of knights who had been expelled from the Order for having committed a serious offence were covered with black paint and the reasons for expulsion

Figure 7.3 The stalls of the choir general view

were painted on them.[26] In artistic terms, the stall decoration for the Order of the Golden Fleece in Barcelona Cathedral surpasses the much earlier choir stalls of the Church of Our Lady of Bruges (1468) and the Cathedral of Saint Saviour (1478) in the same city, which have their armorial panels preserved in their entirety.[27],[28]

By March 1519, the decoration of the backs of the stalls' upper seats had not yet been completed. The painted coats of arms appeared there as temporary decoration, because of Charles' hasty order to prepare the choir for the assembly. More elaborate coats of arms were executed one year after the meeting, as a commemoration of the event. The coats of arms of all participating knights were painted in oils on the wooden backrests and gilded. This commission was given to a painter of whom all we know is that his first name was Johann and he had previously been employed by the Burgundian court as a miniaturist.[29] It appears that master Johann based his Barcelona artwork on the Burgundian armorials, such as the well-known *Armorial équestre de la Toison d'Or et de Europe* of the fifteenth century. It is also very probable that the coats of arms painted by the Flemish artist Jaques Le Boucq (1520–1573) in the Cathedral of Saint Bavo in Ghent used the Barcelona armorial as an inspiration or even a blueprint. Master Johan's job was taken over for unknown reasons by John of Burgundy (Juan de Borgoña), who was now in charge of painting and gilding the wooden panels at the back of each seat. His work comprised 64 painted and gilded seats for the knights of the Order, one seat for Maximilian I (deceased at the time), one

Figure 7.4 The seat for Maximilian I with his coat of arms and laudatorial phrases

seat for Charles I, six panels with praising phrases, four panels with Burgundian mottos, and two with the dates of the assembly. The whole armorial prospect in Barcelona Cathedral was finally complete in 1520. It has never been dismantled so we can admire it in situ today. John of Burgundy followed the late Gothic aesthetic of the Chapters of the Order but introduced the greater naturalism of the Renaissance. He may have been assisted and supervised by Jacob van Laethem (1470–1528), who was the king's painter specializing in heraldic painting.[30]

After his marriage to Maximilian's granddaughter, Mary of Hungary, Louis II gained a very important position in the aristocratic hierarchy, and although the seating plan was based on the chronology of entering the Order, in this case, Louis' chair found itself only one seat away from the deceased Emperor's. In the stalls of the choir, the Jagiellonian coat of arms of Louis II "Roy de Hounguerie" follows that of Francis I, King of France (Figure 7.2: seat 8) and precedes the emblem of Jaques de Luxemburg, count of Gavere (Figure 7.2: seat 10).

The heraldic badge of Louis II the Jagiellon carries symbols of the Kingdom of Hungary (barry of four, or and gule) and lions lampart (Kingdom of Bohemia). There is also an escutcheon of the Kingdom of Poland in the centre, charged with a silver eagle displayed. All coats of arms in the choir are of the Iberian type and are surrounded by the golden chain of the Order with the golden fleece hanging at the bottom.

Let us look again at the layout of the choir (Figure 7.2). In this illustration, the main altar is on the right. The "Gospel side" of the choir (left side) and

Figure 7.5 Coat of arms of Francis I of Valoise, king of France

the "Apostolic Letters side" (right side) both consist of 31 seats. Seat number three on the left was dedicated to the deceased Maximilian I, whereas on the opposite side, number three on the right was occupied by Charles I, the new Grand Master of the Order. The seat marked number nine was dedicated and prepared for Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia. The seat numbered 30 on the right side was elaborately crafted for the archbishop of Barcelona.

Reflecting upon the role of the Jagiellons in the network of international links within the Order of the Golden Fleece, it seems justified to claim that the role of both monarchs was focused on two main elements. The first one concerned strengthening inter-dynastic ties in order to pursue a favourable

matrimonial policy, which in consequence was to ensure a strong international position. The second one was more focused on securing interests in the rivalry between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellons for dominance over the Hungarian and Bohemian territories. The absence of both Jagiellons at the congress was a certain setback for Charles I, but it did not prevent him from becoming emperor a year later. What is more, after the death of Louis II in 1526, Hungary and Bohemia were practically subordinated to the Habsburgs and lost to the Jagiellonian sphere of influence. During the nineteenth assembly, four new knights were nominated Cavaliers of the Golden Fleece.[31] Among them was Sigismund I, King of Poland, son of the Habsburg princess, Elisabeth (1436–1505). Not only did this appointment emphasize kinship with the Grand Master, but it was also intended as an element of the political game before the emperor's election. This nomination was probably quite unexpected, so there was not enough time to prepare the

Figure 7.6 Coat of arms of Louis II of Jagiellon, king of Hungary and Bohemia

seat in the choir with the coat of arms of Sigismund I the Jagiellon.[32] His heraldic sign never appeared in the choir of Barcelona Cathedral.

Notes

1 Invaluable older publications: José Gil Dorregaray (ed.), *Historia de las órdenes de caballería y de las condecoraciones españolas*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Tomás Rey, 1865) 435–683; Juan Pinedo y Salazar, *Historia de la insigne Orden del Toyson de Oro dedicada al Rey nuestro Señor Jefe Soberano y gran Maestre de ella* (facsimile of Madrid 1787 edition), vols. 1–3 (Madrid: Real Academia de Historia, 2018). Important recent publications: Joaquin Azcáraga, *La insigne Orden de Toisón de Oro* (Madrid, 2001); Pierre Cockshaw (ed.), *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430–1505). Idéal ou reflet d'un société?* (Brussels: Brepols, 1996). Alfonso Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, *La insigne orden del Toison de Oro: su historia y sus ceremonias* (Valencia: Ediciones Poligrafa, 1998). Wim Blockmans (ed.), *Staging the Court of Burgundy. Proceedings of the Conference 'The Splendour of Burgundy'* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013); Till-Holger Borchert (ed.), *Charles the Bold 1433–1477. Splendour of Burgundy,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2009; Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London: Routledge, 2008). Boulton, Jonathan (ed.), *The Ideology of Burgundy. The Promotion of National Consciousness 1364–1565* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). On the history of the Order of the Golden Fleece from the point of view of Spanish politics, see María Concepción Quintanilla Raso (ed.), *Títulos, grandes del Reino y grandeza en la sociedad política* (Madrid: Silex, 2006); Pere Molas, *El capítol del Toisó d'Or a la Catedral de Barcelona (1519)* (Barcelona: Catedral de Barcelona, 2019). Essential essays on the history of the Barcelona Cathedral choir and its role in the 19th assembly: Pere Molas, *El capítol del Toisó d'Or a la Catedral de Barcelona (1519)* (Barcelona: Catedral de Barcelona, 2019); Rafael Domínguez Casas, "Arte y simbología en el capítulo barcelonés de la Orden del Toisón de Oro (1519)", Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/historia/CarlosV/graf/DguezCasas/8_3_dguez_casas_fotosmini.shtml, (accessed 21 January 2022).

2 Antoni Ziemba, *Sztuka Burgundii i Niderlandów 1380–1500*, vol. 1 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008), 45–46.

3 The assemblies took place in: Lille (in 1431 and 1436); Bruges (1432, 1468, 1478); Dijon (1433); Brussels (1435, 1501, 1516); Saint Omer (1440, 1461); Ghent (1445, 1559 – the last assembly); Mons (1451), The Hague (1456); Valencienne (1473); Hertogenbosch (1481); Mechelen (1491); Middelbourg (1505); Barcelona (1519); Tournai (1531); Utrecht (1546); and Antwerp (1555).

4 Today candidates must be males of noble birth and baptized in the Roman Catholic faith. The Order is limited to 50 members.

5 Casas, "Arte".

6 Casas, "Arte".

7 The installation ceremony for Louis took place at the eighteenth assembly of the Order, held in Brussels in October 1516, but the appointment took place in 1515.

8 The titles mentioned belonged at the time to: Albert of Brandenburg – elector of Mainz (1490–1545), Richard von Greiffenklau zu Vollrads – elector of Trier (1467–1531), Hermann of Wied – elector of Cologne (1477–1552), Louis II of Hungary, King of Bohemia, Louis V – elector of the electoral Palatinate (1478–1554), Frederick III – elector of Saxony, and Joachim I Nestor – elector of Brandenburg (1499–1535).

9 Molas, *El capítol*, 8.

10 Charles' competitors for the throne were Francis I, King of France (1494–1547), and Henry VIII, King of England (1491–1547).
11 Vladislaus II died on 13 March 1516 leaving the regency in the hands of Albrecht Hohenzollern, who also took responsibility for Louis' education and upbringing.
12 Ludwik Kolankowski, *Polska Jagiellonów* (Olsztyn: Oficyna Warmińska, 1991), 161.
13 Ludwik Kolankowski, "Polityka ostatnich Jagiellonów", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 25 (1911): 56–58; Stanisław Górski, *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, 301.
14 Jan Dantiscus acted as the ambassador of the Polish King at the court of the King of Spain, Charles I (later Emperor Charles V) in 1519, 1522–1523 and 1524–1529.
15 Adam Kucharski, *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków* (Warszawa, 2007), 115.
16 Stanisław Górski (ed.), *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 5, 32–33. Antonio Fontán, *Españoles y polacos en la corte de Carlos V* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994), 136.
17 Manuscripts and incunables referring to constitutions: *Statuts et Ordonnances de tres noble de la Toison d'Or*, British Library, Egerton MS 641; Oliver de la Marche, *Chroniques abrégées des Ancient Rois de Bourgogne*, BL Yates Thompson MS 32; Georges Chastellain, *Chronique*, Bibliothéque Nationale de France, FRBNF36281719; Guillaume Fillastre, Histoire de la Toison d'or, BNF NAF21627; *La Toison d'or ou Recueil des Statuts et ordonnances du noble ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Cologne: Pierre Sweitzer, 1689), http://biblioteca.galiciana.gal/es/consulta/registro.do?id=401488 (accessed 20 February 2022).
18 Ignasi Carborell (ed.), *Asambleas y nombramientos de sus diguisimos individuos desde su origen en el año 1429 hasta 1587*, transcription, Archiu Capitular Barcelona, ACB codex 243.
19 This event took place during the thirteenth assembly, held in Bruges at St Salvator's Cathedral from 30 April to 3 March 1478.
20 Codex 243, fol. 28. All codex 243 texts
21 Codex 243, fol. 34.
22 Most of the wood imported to Spain from Flanders originated from the Baltic region, especially oak from Poland, Lithuania, Prussia and Livonia. On the import of oak to Spain in the fifteenth century, see Ibán Redondo Pares, *El mercado de arte entre Flandes y Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I (1474–1504)* (Madrid: La Ergastula, 2020), 97; Antoni Ziemba, *Sztuka Burgundii i Niderlandów 1380–1500*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: WUW, 2011), 434. Hélene Verougstraete-Marcq and Roger van Schoute, *Cadres et supports dans la peinture flamande aux 15^{e} et 16^{e} siecles* (Heure-le-Romaine: H. Verougstraeta – R. Van Schoute, 1989).
23 José María Madurell Marimón, "Bartolomé Ordóñez", *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 6.3–4 (1948): 350–352.
24 Juan Ainaud, "El contrato de Ordoñez para el Coro de Barcelona", *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 6.3–4 (1948): 378.
25 Madurell Marimón, "Ordóñez", 356.
26 Casas, "Arte".
27 Rafael Casas points out that other heraldic prospectuses were not so fortunate, although some coats of arms that were part of them have survived. The oldest of those preserved is that of Simon Lalaing, lord of Santes and Montigny (1405–1476), which comes from the first assembly of the Order, held in Lille in 1431 (now in the Museum of the Hôtel Sandelin, Saint Omer). Two other coats of arms which decorated the choir of the abbey church of Sain-Bertin de Saint-Omer during the fifth chapter of 1440 and the tenth chapter of 1461 are kept in the same museum: the coats of arms of Jehan de Villiers, lord of l'Isle-Adam (d. 1439), and of Charles de Temerario, Count of Charlois (1433–1477).
28 Casas, "Arte".
29 Casas, "Arte".
30 Casas, "Arte".

31 The nominated individuals were two knights of the Flemish branch of the counts of Croy and two kings: Sigismund I of Poland and Cristian II of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.
32 Molas, *El capítol*, 16.

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8 Rome, Rostock and a remote region

Art commissions and networks of Livonian bishops

Anu Mänd

Bishops with their social, ecclesiastical and personal networks can be regarded as central power agents in medieval and early modern Europe. Due to the nature and structure of the Catholic Church, prelates often travelled from one country to another during their career, establishing relationships with kings, princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Bishops had to travel to the papal court in Rome or Avignon to secure their appointment. Late medieval bishops had often studied at a university, sometimes at more than one. Many bishops were members of religious orders. The political, social and religious activities of bishops and their international connections can be examined from various perspectives. Over recent years, prosopographical studies of bishops' careers and social networks have gained prominence.[1]

The aim of this chapter is to approach the topic of networks from the art historical perspective and to investigate how the connections that bishops established would have been reflected in the works of art commissioned by them or created in their memory. Under scrutiny are works of art associated with the bishops in medieval Livonia (a historical region roughly corresponding to modern Estonia and Latvia) between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[2] Livonia was a conglomeration of states consisting of the territories of the Teutonic Order, the archbishopric of Riga, and the bishoprics of Dorpat (mod. Tartu), Courland and Ösel-Wiek.[3] The bishop of Reval (mod. Tallinn) lacked territorial secular power.[4]

Gravestones (comparatively few survive) and stone reliefs with coats of arms, which were, or still are, located above church portals and castle gates or in their interiors, are the principal visual traces of bishops in Estonia and Latvia.[5] The reliefs are significant symbols of episcopal power, indicating the territory a bishop controlled, his residences, and churches erected by him, or commemorating certain events (e.g. the date of a bishop's installation).[6] However, several works of art located in other parts of Europe can also be connected with medieval Livonian prelates. Little attention has been paid to these objects by Estonian and Latvian art historians, since their research has usually been limited to the cultural heritage of their own country. Subsequently, I am going to focus on works of art found in Germany,

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Scandinavia and Rome, and discuss their visual motifs, heraldic symbols, inscriptions and socio-historical context. But I will begin with a stone relief in Estonia which bears visual testimony to the links between Rome and this remote region.

A visual trace of Rome in Livonia

The bishopric of Ösel-Wiek had two main centres: the town of Hapsal (mod. Haapsalu) with a cathedral and the cathedral chapter, and the bishop's castle at Arensburg (mod. Kuressaare) on the island of Ösel (mod. Saaremaa). The bishops resided in both of these centres. The walls of the chapel in Arensburg Castle are adorned with the arms of two successive prince-bishops: Johannes Orgas (r. 1491/1492–1515) and Johannes Kievel (r. 1515–1527). Both of them were descendants of local Livonian noble families and had travelled extensively. Orgas had studied at the universities of Rostock and Bologna; Kievel had received a master's degree, although it is not known from which university. In October 1513, Kievel sojourned in Rome, where Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521) appointed him Bishop Orgas's coadjutor. One and a half years later, when Orgas died at a ripe old age, Kievel became bishop.[7]

Both Orgas and Kievel were prelates of the Renaissance Age, who paid much attention to the visual signs of their power: their coats of arms can be found in churches and castles throughout the diocese. However, there is one relief on the Arensburg's chapel wall which is of special interest: it depicts the papal tiara, the crossed keys and the Medici arms (Figure 8.1). This is the coat of arms of Pope Leo X, born Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici. The relief was made from local Karmel (mod. Kaarma) dolomite. As I have argued earlier,[8] it resembles a tripartite relief in the same chapel, which is composed of the Kievel coat of arms, the symbol of the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek and the Orgas coat of arms, and was probably commissioned by Bishop Kievel soon after his installation in 1515. He may have commissioned the relief with Pope Leo X's coat of arms at the same time. This work reflects Kievel's personal ties with the Roman curia and his allegiance to the Holy See; it strengthened his power and augmented his social prestige. The symbolic presence of the Pope turned Arensburg Castle into Livonia's Rome.

Lübeck

In the Franciscan St Catherine's Church in Lübeck, three works of art depicting Livonian prelates survive. All three of them are located in the upper chancel. In front of the altar there is the grave slab of Bishop Jacob of Ösel-Wiek (Lat. Osilia) (r. 1322–1337).[9] Characteristically, the prelates' grave markers were more richly decorated than those of the lower clergy. In the middle of the slab there is a full-length figure of the bishop, wearing a

Figure 8.1 Relief with the coat of arms of Pope Leo X in the chapel of Arensburg Castle, c. 1515. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko

mitre, with a crosier in his left hand, his right hand raised in the gesture of blessing. Above the bishop's head there is a canopy, symbolising the paradise gate. The family coat of arms, with a rafter and three roses, is depicted in the corners of the slab.

The Latin inscription reads: *Anno d(omi)ni m ccc xxxvii hic in muro/ s(u)b capsa r(e)liq(ui)aru(m) fuilt sepult(us) d(omi)n(u)s Jacob(us) ep(-iscopu)s osyliensis.* The inscription is intriguing as it indicates that Jacob's remains were not buried under the floor but were placed into the chancel wall under a reliquary holding some saint's remains. As far as is known, his grave slab was not removed during restoration works, so it is unclear whether there is a burial underneath the floor.

There is no evidence that the floor of the upper chancel, unlike that of the lower one, was regularly used for burials: the grave slab for Bishop Jacob seems to be the only one; the rest of the floor is covered with ceramic tiles, some of which date back to the late medieval period. The floor/ceiling between the lower and upper chancels could not have been used for digging deep pits for graves. So it remains unclear why Jacob's gravestone was set in the floor and in such a prestigious location.

There is a lack of data about Bishop Jacob's origins. Before being elected Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, he was a member of the cathedral chapter in Dorpat; in about 1326, he was temporarily active as a general vicar to the Archbishop of Riga.[10] From about summer 1336 to his demise in the following year, he resided in Lübeck.[11] But this does not answer the question of why he was buried in the chancel of the Franciscan church, since, as far as we know, he was not a member of the Order of Friars Minors.

A nearly three-metre-high wall painting in remembrance of Jacob and two other prelates was painted on the north wall of the upper chancel in about 1365.[12] The figure on the left is holding an episcopal mitre in his hand, and the other two are wearing one (Figure 8.2).[13] All of them have a crosier in their hands. Under their feet are their coat of arms, but the emblems are only visible on the one on the left: two crossed objects are depicted, one of them is a crosier, the upper part of the other cannot be identified (it may be a crosier or a sword).[14]

The inscriptions under the figures explain who they are and when they died. The text under the figure on the left says: *An(n)o d(omi)ni m ccc xx obijt d(omi)n(u)s/Joh(ann)es ele(ct)us ep(is)c(opus) reuelge(nsi)s* [In the year of our Lord 1320 master Johannes, Bishop-Elect of Reval died]. Johannes was elected Bishop of Reval in 1320, but he passed away in Lübeck before his confirmation by the Pope.[15] This explains why his painted figure is not wearing a mitre. There are little data about his life and he is not known to have been a Franciscan.

The central figure is Helenbert Visbeke (d. 1343), Bishop of Schleswig. The one standing on the right is the aforementioned Bishop Jacob of Ösel-Wiek (d. 1337): *An(n)o d(omi)ni m ccc xxxvij obit d(omi)n(u)s/Jacob(us) ep(is)c (opus) oseliensis.* The wall painting was accomplished about 20 years after the demise of Bishop Helenbert. The motives of the patron(s) and the commission are not known. The painting indicates that the three men were buried in St Catherine's Church. The burial of Bishop Helenbert in the chancel is confirmed by the Chronicle of Detmar of Lübeck (*biscop Helenbert wart begraven to Lubeke in der minren brodere chore*).[16] Helenbert's grave slab survived until about 1840. It is not known whether the three prelates had anything else in common except the fact that they were buried in the chancel of St Catherine's Church. But the large wall painting in a prestigious location refers to Franciscan networks that cannot be detected from the written records.

When coming back to the inscription which said that Bishop Jacob was buried under the reliquary in the wall, one can presume that it must be the north wall. However, there is a door directly under the wall painting. The only place in the north wall which can perhaps be associated with a reliquary is a recess with a segmental arch, to the east of the painting, where an altar was probably located. Quite likely, memorial masses were celebrated for these three prelates, and prayers for their souls were said on

Figure 8.2 Wall painting in the upper chancel of St. Catherine's church in Lübeck, c. 1365. Bishop-elect Johannes of Reval (d. 1320), Bishop Helenbert of Schleswig (d. 1343) and Bishop Jacob of Ösel-Wiek (d. 1337). Photo by Stanislav Stepashko

this or some other altar in the upper chancel. Thus, the grave slab(s), the wall painting and the liturgy formed a coherent whole combining visual art, music and ritual.

There is one more remarkable work of art in the upper chancel: the choir stalls along the north and south walls, built in about 1329. Between 1464 and 1473, the backs of the stalls were decorated with paintings depicting Christ, Franciscan saints and prelates (popes, cardinals, archbishops), as

well as some regional rulers (Adolf IV, Count of Schauenburg).[17] The choir stalls on the north side include an image of Friedrich von Pernstein (r. 1304–1341), Archbishop of Riga (Figure 8.3). He is holding a cross-shaped staff in his hand, the family coat of arms lies at his feet (a half-figure of a white buck), and the text in the scroll behind his head reads: *D(omi)n(u)s et fr(-ater) frede(r)ic(us) archiep(iscop)us eccl(es)ie rigens(is)*.[18] The paintings are believed to have been commissioned in preparation for the Franciscan general chapter, held at St Catherine's Church in 1473.[19] The visual programme of the choir stalls must have served as an expression of the political power of the Franciscans, their geographical extent and their spirituality.

Friedrich von Pernstein was one of the Archbishops of Riga, who was absent from Livonia for most of his term; among other places, he resided at the papal court in Avignon, where he died in March 1341.[20] He was a Franciscan, which explains why he is included in the visual programme of the choir stalls in St Catherine's Church, depicted as a leading clergy member who had served in high positions.

Figure 8.3 Figure of Archbishop of Riga Friedrich von Pernstein at the choir stalls of St. Catherine's church in Lübeck, 1464–1473. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko

Rome

In addition to the bishops mentioned above, many others died outside the boundaries of their dioceses in Livonia. Baltic-German scholars of the nineteenth century discovered that Fromhold von Vifhusen (r. 1348–1369), Archbishop of Riga, was buried in the Basilica of Our Lady in Trastevere, Rome; Archbishops Engelbert von Dolen (r. 1341–1347) and Siegfried von Blomberg (r. 1370–1374) in Avignon; and Johannes von Münchhausen, Bishop of Courland (r. 1540–1360) and Ösel-Wiek (r. 1542–1559), in Verden Cathedral.[21] Some of the grave markers had been destroyed even before the nineteenth century, so there are neither pictures nor detailed descriptions of them (the Münchhausen epitaph being an exception).[22] Edmund von Werth (r. 1263–1292), Bishop of Courland, was buried in the Church of Our Lady of the Nativity, in the commandery of the Teutonic Order at Alden Biesen. The bishop's grave slab in the floor in front of the altar has been preserved.

Among the destroyed works of art is the grave slab of Christian Kuband (r. 1423–1432), Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, which was located in the floor of Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome, though removed in 1774. Fortunately, a drawing of the slab made in the same year survives.[23] The marble slab was richly decorated. In the middle, there was a full-length figure of the bishop wearing a mitre. There was a canopy above his head and under the side arches there were two identical coats of arms with a cow and a column. A similar motif can be seen on Kuband's seal, which features a cow tied to a crowned column (Figure 8.4).[24] This is an example of the canting arms: a cow (Ger. Kuh) and a rope (Ger. Band) are a pun on Kuband's name, while the column refers to his patron from the Colonna family (see below). A mitre was depicted above the coats of arms.

While an illiterate person could recognise the status of the deceased with the help of visual signs, those who knew Latin were able to obtain more information by reading the inscription: *REVERENDI IN CHR(IST)O PATRIS D(OMI)NI CRISTIANI EP(ISCOP)I/OSILIENSIS QVONDAM CONFESSORIS ET CAPELLANI FELICIS RECORDATIONIS MARTINI P(A)P(A)E V DEFVN(C)TI DIE XXI/MENSIS IVLII ANNI* (sic!) *D(OMI)NI M°CCCC XXXII CORPVS/HIC SEPVLTVM EST CVIVS ANINA* (sic!) *CVM SANCTIS ET ELECTIS DEI REQUIESCAT IN SANCTA PACE AMEN AMEN* [Here is buried the body of the reverend Father in Christ, master Christianus, Bishop of Ösel, the former Confessor and Chaplain of Pope Martin V of blessed memory, who died on the 21st day of the month of July AD 1432. May his soul rest in holy peace with the saints and the elect of God. Amen, amen].

Christian Kuband probably came from Mecklenburg. His clerical career started in the service of the Bishop of Ratzeburg, which, after 1396, took him repeatedly to Rome. As a senior official in the Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré, he resided in Rome starting in 1411 and became a close friend of Cardinal Otto (or Oddone) Colonna, the future Pope Martin V

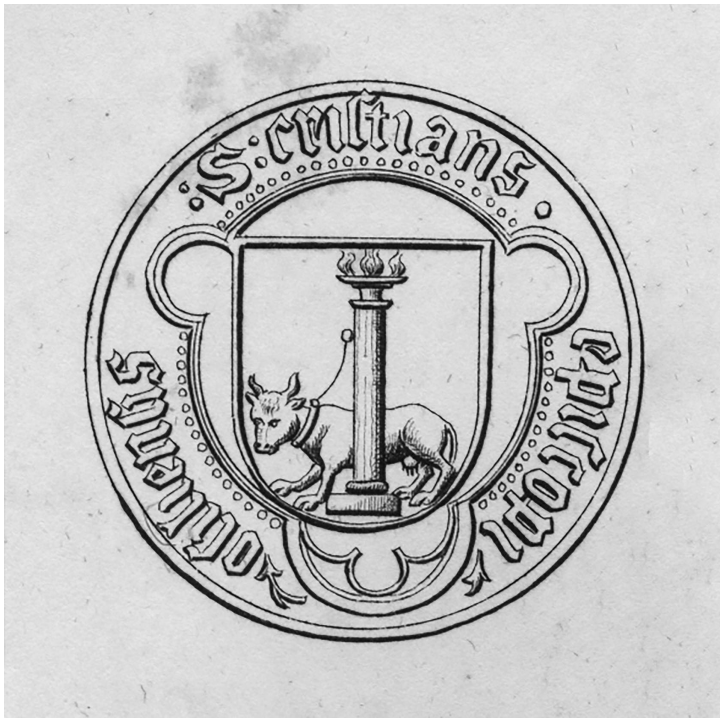

Figure 8.4 Seal of Bishop Christian Kuband (Brieflade 4, plate 36, no. 7)

(r. 1417–1431). In 1417, Kuband became the court chaplain of Martin V and, in 1423, his confessor. In September 1423, the Pope appointed him a bishop. In 1425, Kuband arrived in his diocese and resided in both Arensburg and Hapsal. He came into conflict with the Teutonic Order and had to leave Livonia in 1429; as King Sigismund's ambassador he went to Rome, where he died.[25] It deserves mention that on the grave slab he is identified both as Bishop of Ösel and as the confessor of the Pope. Kuband's relationship with the Pope, who came from the powerful Colonna family, is symbolised subtly by his coat of arms.

Rostock

One of the courtyard entrances of the main building of the University of Rostock is framed by two doorside stones (Ger. *Beischlagsteine*) from Livonia. The slab on the left depicts the Virgin Mary, and the one on the right shows Saint George slaying the dragon (Figure 8.5). The coat of arms at the top of the slab on the right belongs to Georg von Tiesenhausen, Bishop of Reval (r. 1525–1530) and Ösel-Wiek (r. 1527–1530).[26]

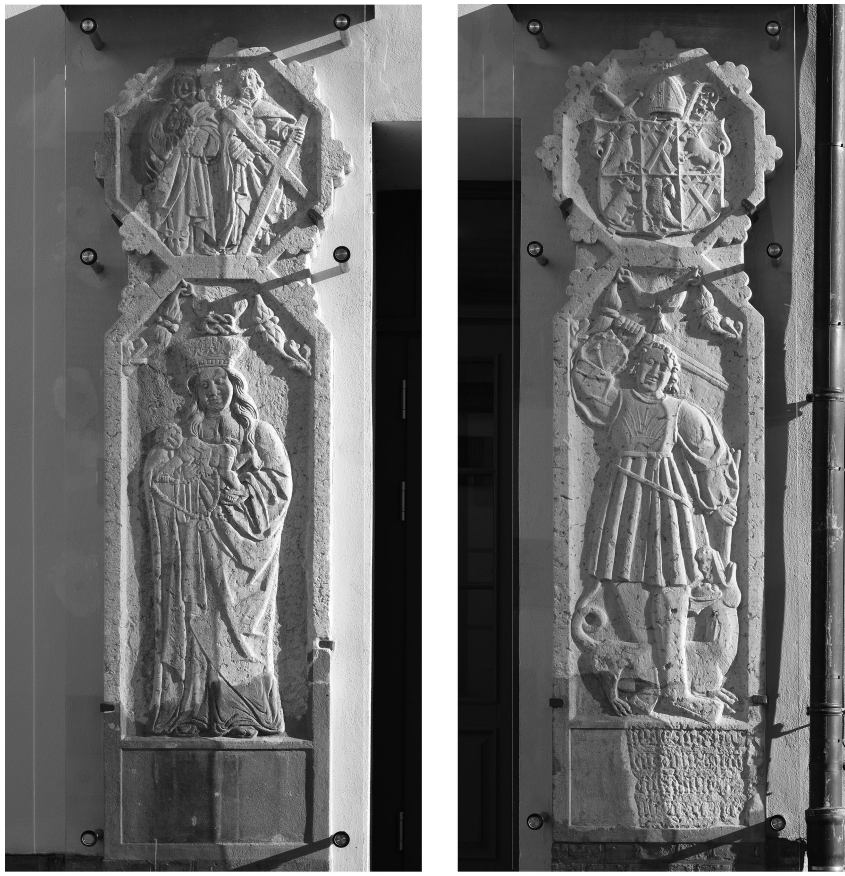

Figure 8.5 A pair of doorside stones donated by Bishop Georg von Tiesenhausen, 1529–1530. Courtyard of the University of Rostock. Photos by Stanislav Stepashko

The visual programme of the doorside stones is quite significant: St George was the bishop's patron saint, and the Virgin Mary was the patroness of both Livonia and the diocese and cathedral of Reval. At the top of the slab on the left there are images of John the Baptist (one of the two patron saints of Hapsal Cathedral) and Andrew the Apostle (most likely the co-patron of the diocese of Reval).[27] The bishop's coat of arms is divided into six (Figure 8.6). Two of the fields depict the emblem of the diocese of Ösel-Wiek (the eagle of St John the Evangelist), two show the symbol of the diocese of Reval (two crossed staffs, each with a cross at the top), and two have the emblem of the Tiesenhausen family (a bull). Above the shield are a mitre, a crosier and a sword. Consequently, the stones must have been crafted in

Figure 8.6 Detail with the coat of arms of Bishop Georg von Tiesenhausen. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko

1527–1530, when Tiesenhausen was the bishop of both dioceses. This will be discussed further below.

At the bottom of the doorside stones there were inscriptions. The inscription on the slab with the Virgin Mary is completely destroyed, the one on the stone with St George is partially destroyed, but the surviving part is badly damaged and the text hardly legible.[28] The first line can be read *[…]ndus in xpo* (i.e., *reverendus in Christo*), the second line has the letters *d*(?)*ns dns geor*, and the third line has the family name *tisenhusen*. In the fourth line one can see the letters *ilie* (most likely *osiliensis*) and, at the end, *re* (*revaliensis*). The text continued, but nothing remains of the last line. The surviving fragments indicate that it was more or less a standard text of donation, which probably began with a date and continued with the name and office of the donor (*dominus georgius de tisenhusen episcopus osiliensis et revaliensis*).

The doorside stones in Rostock were made of Reval (to be precise, Lasnamäe) limestone. Tiesenhausen may have commissioned a master from a Reval stonemasons' guild to carve them. It is also possible that the material was quarried in Reval and the slabs were carved in the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek, but the first scenario seems to be more plausible.[29] The name of the stone carver is not known. Some earlier researchers thought that it might have been Master Reyneke,[30] but he was a painter in Riga, not a stone carver.[31]

It is known that originally the doorside stones stood at the entrance to Olavs-Burse in Rostock. Georg von Tiesenhausen, born in Livonia, studied at the University of Rostock in 1515–1517, earning a master's degree there.[32] Olavs-Burse was a residence mainly for Scandinavian students, but

it is possible that Tiesenhausen stayed there. On 25 March 1529, the Rostock town council sent a letter to Olav Engelbrektsson (r. 1523–1537), Archbishop of Nidaros (mod. Trondheim), which states that *Regentia S. Olavi* (i.e. Olavs-Burse) was in a bad state of repair, a danger to neighbouring buildings and in need of reconstruction.[33] Olav studied at the University of Rostock in 1503–1507 and resided in the city until about 1514.[34] The town council's letter indicates that the residence for Scandinavian students was under the patronage of the Archbishop of Nidaros. It is possible that in 1529 Olav appealed to his fellow alumni, who were ecclesiastical dignitaries, and asked them to support the reconstruction work on Olavs-Burse. Perhaps Olav and Georg met in Rostock in about 1514 and were friends. This is just a guess, as there are no written records of communication between them. Assuming that Tiesenhausen's donation was motivated by the letters of appeal from the Rostock town council and Archbishop Olav, the doorside stones must have been made in 1529–1530. The bishop as a benefactor had the opportunity to demonstrate his power and high position by visual means.

Denmark and Sweden

Two works of art can be connected with Johannes von Münchhausen, Bishop of Courland (r. 1540–1560) and Ösel-Wiek (r. 1542–1559). One of them is a bell in the tower of Veksø Church in Denmark.[35] In the upper part of the bell there is a minuscule inscription: *anno xv^{c}lv dei gra(tia) iohannes episcopus curonien(sis) et administrator oxciliensis*. Thus, the bell was cast in 1555 and commissioned by Bishop Johannes.

The maker's mark on the bell has been connected with the bellfounders of the Becker family in North Germany and attributed to the descendants of Claus Becker, who were active in Halle.[36] However, the maker's mark actually belongs to Cordt Hartmann the Elder, who was the caster of cannons and bells in Reval and was in the service of the town hall council in 1559–1570. The same maker's mark was used by his son Hinrik, who cast the bell of Reval Town Hall (1586), which still hangs in its original site.[37]

The bell in Veksø Church is decorated with the coat of arms of Bishop Münchhausen (Figure 8.7). The shield is divided into four, two divisions depicting the emblem of the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek and two others the emblem of the bishopric of Courland.[38] Above the shield are a crosier, a mitre and a sword. At the heart point in the middle, there is an image of a monk (Low Ger. *monnik*), holding a staff in his right hand and a book in his left: this is the coat of arms of the Münchhausen (Low Ger. Monnikhusen) family.[39]

The date of the arrival of the bell in Veksø Church was not recorded in the Danish sources, and the first mention of the bell was not until the mid-eighteenth century; however, some have argued that it may have been sent from Ösel to Denmark in 1602[40] (i.e. when the island of Ösel was under Danish rule). Some Estonian historians assumed in the 1930s that the bell

Figure 8.7 Coat of arms of Bishop Johannes von Münchhausen on Veksø church bell, 1555. Photo by Lennart Larsen, 1962, National Museum of Denmark

came originally from Hapsal Cathedral. It is believed that the Danish had removed the bell (together with the cathedral treasures) to Ösel in fear of a Swedish attack in 1562 and, after Hapsal was conquered by the Swedish in 1563, transported it to Denmark.[41]

One cannot be completely sure whether Bishop Johannes commissioned the bell for Hapsal Cathedral, as no church is mentioned in the inscription and no written records about casting the bell have been found. After being consecrated as Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, Johannes resided mainly in Hapsal and Arensburg.[42] Therefore, it is likely that the bell was commissioned for the most important church in his diocese, Hapsal Cathedral.

Another object that can be connected with Bishop Münchhausen is a cope from Fogdö Church in Sweden, and it is now in the collections of the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm.[43] The material and ornamentation of the cope indicate that it was a luxurious item: it was made of dark red velvet and adorned with gold brocade and silk embroideries. The ornamental hood is represented by a shield of embroidery, depicting the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. At least two more copes stylistically similar to that in Fogdö survive: one in Arundel Castle, West Sussex, England, and

the other in St Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham.[44] Both were made in Great Britain. The back of the Fogdö cope is embroidered with a bird with outstretched wings standing on a barrel. This ornamental device belonged to John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury (r. 1486–1500), being a visual pun on his name consisting of a bird, or a 'mor' and a barrel, or a 'ton'.[45] Later, three coats of arms were added underneath Morton's rebus: one has three ploughshares, the other shows a ladder and the third features a bull's head.

There is another later addition: the coat of arms of Bishop Johannes Münchhausen was embroidered at the bottom of the rear shield.[46] It is similar to the images on both his seal and the bell in Veksø Church: the first and the fourth fields are decorated by the emblem of the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek; the second and the third field feature the emblem of the bishopric of Courland and, in the middle, there is a monk of the Münchhausens. Therefore, the embroidery must date back to 1542–1559, when Bishop Johannes had two seats.

When and under what circumstances (e.g. received as a diplomatic gift) the Archbishop of Canterbury's cope was acquired by Münchhausen is not known. As described above, Münchhausen did not remove or cover the emblems of earlier owners but had his own coat of arms added there. It was displayed in a prominent place visible to all. The Virgin Mary and St John above the Münchhausen arms suited the bishop's ambition very well, as these saints were universally worshipped; moreover, Mary was the patroness of Livonia, and John the Evangelist was the patron saint of Johannes Münchhausen and the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek. This cope is a good example of how changes and additions have been made in liturgical vestments over time.

The beginning of the Livonian War in 1558 marked the end of medieval Livonia. After having sold his bishoprics to the King of Denmark in 1559 and 1560, Münchhausen left Livonia. He died in Verden in 1572 and was buried in the cathedral there (see above). It is known that the cope was presented to Fogdö Church in 1622 by Krister Posse, when he returned from the Livonian campaign of Gustavus Adolphus.[47] It can be concluded that Münchhausen had left his cope behind in Livonia and this expensive garment was taken as spoils of war by the Swedish troops.

* * *

While research so far has focused on the activities of Livonian bishops from the perspective of political and ecclesiastical history, the inclusion of visual sources enables us to expand our knowledge about the representation of the prelates, and about the means they used to demonstrate their ecclesiastical and secular power and eternalise their memory. The donor, his social status and bishop's office could be immortalised by depicting a full-length figure

of the bishop, his episcopal vestments and insignia, or his coat of arms and inscriptions; sometimes, all of them were used.

In addition, works of art reflect the political and religious alliances of the bishops and testify to their extensive professional and personal networks. The Livonian bishops studied at Italian and German universities, belonged to pan-European religious orders, travelled extensively, and maintained connections with powerful secular and clerical people. It is evident that many a bishop resided in Livonia for a comparatively short period of time during his career, which may have begun, culminated or ended somewhere else in Europe. This explains why the works of art donated by or created in memory of the Livonian bishops are often located outside the historical boundaries of Livonia. Just as people and ideas have travelled from one country to another throughout the centuries, objects have moved. The bell and cope of Bishop Münchhausen demonstrate that the biography or itinerary of some objects might be quite complex. Visual sources are valuable to us because they may reveal the connections and networks which are not recorded in the written sources.

Notes

1 Sarah E. Thomas (ed.), *Bishops' Identities, Careers, and Networks in Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021)
2 Research for this article was supported by the Estonian Research Council grant PRG1276 and the Tallinn University grant TF1620.
3 'Ösel-Wiek' is a term coined by nineteenth-century Baltic German scholars. In the Middle Ages, the bishopric was called Ösel (Lat. Osilia), receiving its name from the island of Ösel in West Estonia.
4 For Livonian bishoprics, see Tiina Kala, "Die Kirche", in *Das Baltikum: Geschichte einer europäischen Region*, vol. 1, *Von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, ed. Karsten Brüggemann et al. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2018), 227–237.
5 Heinz Loeffler, *Die Grabsteine, Grabmäler und Epitaphien in den Kirchen Alt-Livlands vom 13.–18. Jahrhundert* (Riga: Löffler, 1929), 12–16, 20, 23, 38, 41–57; Armin Tuulse, *Die spätmittelalterliche Steinskulptur in Estland und Lettland* (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1948), 77–83; Helmi Üprus, *Raidkivikunst Eestis XIII–XVII sajandini* (Tallinn: Kunst, 1987), 107, fig. 116–119; Anu Mänd, "Piiskoppide eneserepresentatsioonist, vapitahvlitest ja meister Reynekest", in *Pühakud, piiskopid, linnad ja linnused: Ajaränakuid kesk- ja varauusaega/Saints, Bishops, Towns and Castles: Time Travels into Middle and Early Modern Ages*, ed. Erki Russow and Valter Lang (Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool, 2018), 253–278; Anu Mänd, "Power, Memory, and Allegiance: Coats of Arms of Bishops and a Pope in Western Estonia", *East Central Europe* 47 (2020): 138–155.
6 Mänd, "Power, Memory, and Allegiance", 150, 152.
7 Leonid Arbusow, *Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Dritter Nachtrag* (Mitau: Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1913), 100–101, 154–155.
8 Mänd, "Power, Memory, and Allegiance", 141–146.
9 Klaus Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler in Lübeck, Schleswig und Lauenburg (1100–1600)* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999), 804–805; Anu Mänd, "Keskaegse Liivimaa piiskoppide jäljed Euroopa visuaalkultuuris

(14.–16. sajand)", in *Järelevastamine: Kaur Alttoale*, ed. Anneli Randla (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2017), 12–13, fig. 1.

10 For Bishop Jacob, see *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448: ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 492–493.

11 Busch, "Geschichte des Bistums Ösel", 80–81.

12 Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler*, 805.

13 See, for example, Hermann Trey, "Beschreibung des in der Lübeckschen St. Katharinen-Kirche befindlichen Denkmals zweier livländischen Bischöfe aus dem 14ten Jahrhunderte", *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 3 (1843): 152–157.

14 The bishop of Reval was not a secular ruler; therefore, the sword would not have been fitting (but possibly the painter did not know that). The symbol of the diocese of Reval was two crossed staffs each with a cross at the top.

15 Arbusow, *Livlands Geistlichkeit*, 95, 335.

16 Krüger, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Grabdenkmäler*, 806.

17 Uwe Albrecht (ed.), *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Holzskulptur und Tafelmalerei in Schleswig-Holstein*, vol. 2, *Hansestadt Lübeck, Die Werke im Stadtgebiet* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2012), 339–353.

18 Ibid., 350.

19 Ibid., 353.

20 Arbusow, *Livlands Geistlichkeit*, 159–160; *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 651–652.

21 Arend Buchholtz, "Ueber den Grabstein des Erzbischofs Fromhold von Vifhusen in der Kirche S. Maria in Trastevere zu Rom", *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1885* (1886): 75–79; Constantin Mettig, "Ueber die Grabdenkmäler der livländischer Bischöfe", *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1898* (1899): 119–123.

22 Mettig, "Ueber die Grabdenkmäler", 121–123.

23 Fabrizio Federici and Jörg Garms, *Tombs of Illustrious Italians at Rome: L'album di disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library di Windsor* (Firenze: Olschki, 2011), 194; *Deutsche Inschriften Online*, DIO 3, Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rom, Nr. 4†, www.inschriften.net, urn:nbn:de:0238-dio003r001k0000401 (accessed 1 February 2022).

24 Robert von Toll and Johannes Sachssendahl (eds), *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, *Siegel und Münzen* (hereafter, *Brieflade* 4) (Reval: Kluge & Ströhm, 1887), 133, plate 36, no. 7.

25 For Kuband, see Arbusow, *Livlands Geistlichkeit*, 104; *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, 498–500.

26 Friedrich Schlie, *Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Grossherzogthums Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, vol. 1, *Die Amtsgerichtsbezirke Rostock, Ribnitz u.a.* (Schwerin: Bärensprung, 1896), 271–273; Tuulse, *Die spätmittelalterliche Steinskulptur*, 79–80. For Tiesenhausen, see Arbusow, *Livlands Geistlichkeit*, 217.

27 St Andrew is depicted on the seal (*sigillum secretum*) of the cathedral chapter of Reval. *Brieflade* 4, 124, plate D, no. 3.

28 Mänd, "Keskaegse Liivimaa", 23, fig. 9.

29 Ibid., 24.

30 Tuulse, *Die spätmittelalterliche Steinskulptur*, 73–78; Üprus, *Raidkivikunst Eestis*, 87.

31 Mänd, "Piiskoppide eneserepresentatsioonist", 264–270.

32 Universität Rostock, Matrikelportal Rostock ab 1419, http://purl.uni-rostock.de/matrikel/100013561, http://purl.uni-rostock.de/matrikel/400060918 (accessed 1 February 2022).

33 Schlie, *Die Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler*, 273.
34 http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/id/100005991; *Norsk Biografisk Lexikon*: https://nbl.snl.no/Olav_Engelbrektsson (accessed 1 February 2022).
35 Marie-Louise Jørgensen and Hugo Johannsen (eds), *Danmarks kirker: Frederiksborg amt*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1975), 2427–2428, fig. 15–16.
36 Ibid., 2427.
37 Juhan Kilumets, *Kirikukellad Eestis*/*Church Bells in Estonia* (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstimuuseum, 2007), 42–43.
38 *Brieflade* 4, 139, no. 25, plate 38, no. 25–26, plate 45, no. 4.
39 Ibid., 139, no. 24, plate 38, no. 24–26.
40 Jørgensen and Johannsen (eds), *Danmarks kirker: Frederiksborg amt*, 2428.
41 Mänd, "Keskaegse Liivimaa", 25–26.
42 For Münchhausen, see Madis Maasing, "Die Bischöfe von Kurland zwischen Livland und Preußen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 12 (2017): 64–65, 72–79; Carl Schirren, "Bischof Johann von Münchhausen", *Baltische Monatsschrift* 28 (1881): 18–37.
43 Inv. no. 23128. Exhibited in the Textile Chamber. Information and photos on the museum website: https://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/96096-korkapa-av-textil/ (accessed 1 February 2022).
44 Kate Heard, "'All holie companye of heaven': Uniformity and Individuality in the Iconography of Late Medieval English Orphreys", in *Iconography of Liturgical Textiles in the Middle Ages*, ed. Evelin Wetter (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2010), 155, fig. 91–94.
45 Ibid., 155, 157–158, fig. 93; Mary M. Brooks et al., "Fragments of Faith: Unpicking Archbishop John Morton's Vestments", *The Antiquarian Journal* 100 (2020): 275, 287, fig. 4.
46 Photos on the museum website: https://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/96096-korkapa-av-textil/#group-2, https://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/96096-korkapa-av-textil/#group-3; Mänd, "Keskaegse Liivimaa", 27, fig. 13.
47 Agnes Branting and Andreas Lindblom, *Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden*, vol. 1, *Text* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932), 135.

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9 What links the *Last Judgement* triptych by Hans Memling with Florence, Rome, Nuremberg, Breisach and Cracow?

Beata Purc-Stępniak

This chapter highlights the contacts made by painters and scholars in the bourgeois environment with reference to trade journeys around Europe in the fifteenth century. The role of those journeys in the transmission of religious goods and the development of culture is illustrated by the work of Hans Memling (*c.* 1430–1494)[1] and his links with painters and humanists interested in art, which led to the realization of the *Last Judgement* altarpiece (1463–1473, the National Museum in Gdańsk)[2] in the Bruges master's studio The altarpiece was commissioned by a Florentine client, initially from Rogier van der Weyden,[3] and continued with his associate Memling, who came from the middle Rhine region.

The chapter indicates references to the triptych in examples of fifteenth-century art, and it underlines the importance of the territory of today's Switzerland and Northern Italy in the transmission of *ars nuovo*. Italian and German humanists as well as the higher clergy, diplomats travelling in missions around Europe, and ordering paintings and manuscripts, played a role in the development of the art of painting at that time. They came from the educated and entrepreneurial bourgeoisie class. Italian bankers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, architects and writers established contacts in the Netherlands while practising their professions. The journeys made by painters' apprentices also facilitated links among the art trading centres. The altarpiece by Memling provides evidence of the cohesiveness of German, Italian and Dutch late medieval culture, and the mutual artistic exchange between the so-called border centres, when we take into account the Dutch art market created for the needs of an erudite foreign audience. The Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1431–1445) was of great importance for fifteenth-century culture. Its mobility contributed to the exchange of goods and ideas, and those ideas influenced the content promoted in paintings.[4] The religious image was supposed to be demonstrative, intellectual, and based on the geometric pattern used in the books of that time.[5] The author of this chapter detected this pattern in Memling's *Last Judgement* composition,[6] like Schwaetzer and Schneider saw it in Jan van Eyck's paintings.[7]

In the fifteenth century, the courts of the dukes of Burgundy and Italy were the centres of European cultural life. In Florence, scholars studied

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Greek literature and made syntheses trying to merge the threads of Aristotle's philosophy, Platonism and Christianity. Hankins proved that the so-called Platonic Academy did not exist as an institution, but it is known that there existed informal groups of communities of befriended scholars,[8] diplomats, and theologians who discussed selected topics, exchanged letters and displayed an interest in art commissioned in the Netherlands in the form of panel paintings and illustrated manuscripts, as Italians used to have their trade representations there. These groups were made up of wealthy townspeople who cultivated enthusiasm for new knowledge related to the philosophy of nature, philology, astrology, geography and theology. Their ideas had a certain influence on the paintings they commissioned.

The structural and iconographic analysis of Memling's *Last Judgement* triptych allows us to treat it as a testimony to the religion and culture of the city of Florence at the interface between politics, professional communities and international trade. It is evidence of the existence of a Florentine scholarly community. I shall analyse which formal and iconographic elements of the triptych aroused admiration and why they influenced other works of art. No confirmation of the triptych's commission has ever been found.[9] During the work done on the painting, Weyden's drawings for the altarpiece in Beaune for Chancellor Nicolas Rolin were used.[10] Memling's patrons were educated townspeople, clergy and aristocrats.[11] His work was influenced by the paintings of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and the workshop of Dirck Bouts.

Warburg, on the basis of a misinterpretation of the coats of arms featured on the altarpiece, thought that Angelo Tani (1415–1492), the Medici banker in Bruges (1450–1465), and his wife, Caterina Tanagli (1446–1492),[12] had commissioned the triptych. Tani lost his position in the bank as early as 1464, and the emblem depicted in the triptych, frequent in heraldry, refers to the coat of arms of the Counts of Flanders.[13] The pincers used in the shield are a symbol of the Florentine dyers' guild.[14] The motto *Pour non falir* (Do not fail) was used by Brand da Castiglione,[15] a participant of the Council of Basel-Ferara-Florence. Rolhman and Nuttall, after finding the will made by Tani, dated 1467, associated the altar with the patron saint of a chapel in the Church of San Bartolomeo in Badia di Fiesole near Florence.[16] However, another banker was painted on the altarpiece: Tomaso Portinari (1428–1510), who was to transport the triptych to Italy. The altar did not reach its intended destination; it was stolen in 1473 off the English coast by the Gdańsk privateer Paul Benecke and transported to Gdańsk,[17] where it is still located today.[18]

The *Last Judgement* altarpiece should be considered in a broader context as a work of art funded for a specific group for the church in Badia di Fiesole According to a study completed in 2016, an academic gymnasium operated there, where the Byzantine philosopher Ioannis (Giovanni) Argyropoulos taught, as well as lecturers from the University of Florence and invited guests from other institutions. The former monastery was rebuilt with funds

provided by Cosimo de' Medici into an educational institute, apartments for professors and study rooms, together with a magnificent library (an *Academia vel bibliotheca*). This place was referred to as an academy or gymnasium.[19] It was the *domus sapientiae*, which replaced the unbuilt college (*Sapienza*) that was to have been founded by Niccolò da Uzzano (1359–1431) for the University of Florence (*Studio Fiorentino*).[20] The activity of scholars in Badia as an auxiliary study for the university was the idea of Cosimo de' Medici, cleverly combined with the commemoration of the confraternity of the Medici bank (humanist bankers) under the patronage of St. Michael[21] with an indication of Florence: *fiori* ("lilies" in the paradise wing).

The younger son of Cosimo de' Medici, Giovanni (1421–1463), also played a role in setting up the Badia Fiesolana. An art collector, lover of Dutch music and painting, and owner of a villa in Badia, in 1447 he served as an official at the Studio Fiorentino, and from 1456 as general director of the Medici bank.[22]

The architects Michelozzo and Alberti were hired to rebuild the abbey. Funding for the Badia was continued by Piero de' Medici (1416–1469) and finalized by Lorenzo de' Medici.[23] Piero died in December 1469. In 1470, Argyropoulos[24] decided to leave for Rome. It was a loss for the gymnasium in Badia, as a circle of humanists (Ficino, Landino, Poliziano)[25] gathered around the philosopher, creating a controversial group called the *Chorus Achademiae Florentinae*.[26] Around 1470, Lorenzo de' Medici decided to commemorate the gymnasium by commissioning an altar in Bruges with portraits of the aforementioned scholars. In August 1471, Argyropoulos was already in Rome, where his friend from Padua, Sixtus IV, was elected pope. Lorenzo did not commission a new altarpiece but used the unfinished one that had been intended for the church in Badia, which was ordered in the Netherlands after 1459 in the studio of Rogier van der Weyden by Lorenzo's uncle Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, but before around 1463, given that Giovanni died in 1463, and Cosimo and Weyden in 1464. The closed wings show Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici (1421–1463)[27] with his wife Maria Ginevra degli Niccolò Alessandri (? – *c.* 1478) (Figure 9.1a).[28] Their son Cosimino was born in 1454 and died in 1459.[29] The patron saints depicted on the wings of the altarpiece allude to the positions held by Giovanni. The Madonna and Child was the emblem of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali guild,[30] and an image of St Michael was the symbol of the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Michael at the Orsanmichele church in Florence, to which the Medici belonged. The coats of arms in the triptych were repainted when work was done on it for the needs of the new foundation, as revealed by infrared photography (Figure 9.1b).[31] Giovanni's love of music, which led him to order music sheets embellished with a coat of arms incorporating an image of a compass, is reflected in the fact that the triptych features musical motifs.[32]

The state of work on the altar from the period when it was first commissioned and the later introduced modifications can be seen in UV and IR

(a) (b)

Figure 9.1a Founders of the triptych Giovanni di Cosimo Medici with his wife Maria Ginevra degli Niccolò Alessandri, Hans Memling, The Last Judgement, National Museum in Gdańsk

9.1b Coats of arms, repainting from around 1469/1470, and IR photographs, Hans Memling, The Last Judgement and emblem of dyers' guild (L'Arte Minore dei Fabbri). FOTO: Grzegorz Nosorowski

photographs from 1960 to 2015. Changes were made to the drawing and painting of the altarpiece around 1469/1470, when these tasks were undertaken by Memling, Weyden's associate.[33] He geometricized the composition and introduced portraits of scientists, Gemistos Plethon, Cosimo de' Medici, Charles the Bold and Tommas Portinari, and Lorenzo de' Medici, among others. The figure of St Michael, crucial for the michaelian fraternities, depicted in the triptych, was compared by the Florentine humanist community with Hermes Psychopompos (Mercurius),[34] the protector of merchants and the liberal arts. This representation was an important element in the Medici iconography as well as in the city's politics. It accentuated righteous wisdom (highlighted by Michael's mirrored armour, symbolizing prudence, and his peacock feathers: a symbol of the sense of sight and omniscience – the all-seeing eyes of God) and strength and chivalry in the fight against sin as a way to spiritual refinement in the face of salvation.[35] This is how the virtue of justice was marked (the column of the world: St Michael – the Saviour – that is, *Sol Iustitiae*).[36] The plan of the altarpiece highlights the seven virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit, the capability of the soul to recognize the way

up towards God. Its symbol is the power of an active soul that loves the Creator – *Venus pudica/urania* [the humanist's passion to know the world], symbolized by a woman covered with a piece of cloth next to a man covering his eyes (in the middle table of the altar), which is an Italian motif taken from wedding iconography.[37]

Here, references were made to the tradition of the wedding of Philology with Mercury, inspired by the work of the seven liberal arts De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii by Martianus Capelli.[38] Florentine scholars called the passion for recognizing the world "chorus".

A section of a panorama, in Italian "chorus", means a dancing eye, from *choreographia* meaning to penetrate the surrounding world with one's eyes (Think around).[39] The term came from the Greek χώρα [chora, mountain, place].[40] It concerned taking a fresh approach to looking inwards in order to see God in oneself and man in God and to perfect oneself, as depicted in the engraving made by Baccio Baldini, *The Holy Mountain*, c. 1470 This concept was developed by Ficino as "the judgment of the eye" and Alberti took it as his own emblem: the winged rational eye of the soul with the words *Quid tum tum*[41] (Figure 9.2a and b). This was the emblem that Ferucci carved on the portal to the sacristy of the church in Badia in 1465. Here, the winged eye is represented by the Medici coat of arms placed in a diamond ring.

This is how the humanist circle of friends was represented under the auspices of the Medici, as compared with the Egyptian eye of Horus.[42] This is

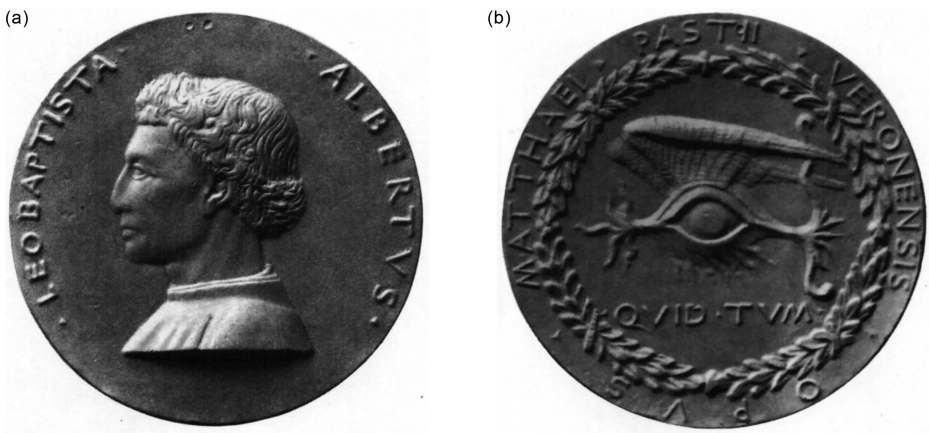

Figure 9.2 (a and b) Bronze medal of L. B. Alberti by Matteo de Pasti with Quid tum, 1446–1450, It the public domain https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medaglia_di_Leon_Battista_Alberti#/media/File:Leon_Battista_Alberti_by_Matteo_de_Pasti_1.jpg and https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medaglia_di_Leon_Battista_Alberti#/media/File:Leon_Battista_Alberti_by_Matteo_de_Pasti_2.jpg

in line with the altarpiece's iconography): the "seeing eye" of the armour of St Michael and God (the seeing golden ball) in terms of caring for souls and commemorating humanists.[43] The altar of the *Last Judgement* was to commemorate the humanists working in the gymnasium in Badia di Fiesole as *Chorus Acchademie Fiorentine.*

Christ sits on a rainbow circle[44] (like a ring in which he is the diamond [representing love]) as Saviour and judge (*sol iustitiae*), depicted in the pose of Arithmetic. The metaphor of two mirrors reflected in each other, seen in the triptych in the form of a golden mirror ball and the breastplate of the armour worn by St Michael, each of a different quality (in the mystical and active prudent sense) denotes a gradual acquaintance with the Creator. Such symbols were used by Nicholas of Cusa in his texts.[45] He related them to the geometric diagram of the world according to quadrature (referring to the concept of *speculum* meaning knowledge, wisdom, and laws in the Middle Ages). The meaning of the Holy Trinity marked in the altarpiece with three circles placed behind Christ, Cusa saw as: eternity, Christ and Love – the connector of the spheres. These terms were used by every theologian of that time to convey God's action in the world. They were used in treatise illustrations such as, for example, the chart in Martianus Capell's *Cosmography* (ill. 3)[46] and in *De sigillo eternitatis*, written in 1433 by Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460) and presented at the Council of Basel on the initiative of Nicholas of Cusa. The chart depicted the universe and the Holy Trinity as well as knowledge and recognition, based on the logic of opposition, showing how one can learn God's truth also through liberal arts.[47] It was an attempt made at translating theological issues through geometry; mathematics was used to gain a philosophical understanding of the world.[48] When the Council was moved to Florence in 1439, humanists became captivated by this theory, especially after Cardinal Brand Castiglione came to the city. Cosimo de' Medici was enthusiastic about mathematical theology and introduced it to the decor of the old sacristy of San Lorenzo. These ideas influenced fifteenth-century painting.[49] There were attempts made to combine intellectual and mystical theology, creating images based on geometry, and the compass became a metaphor for justice, virtue, and balance. Some explanation on the compass was provided by Filarete in his treatise on architecture, offered to Piero de' Medici in 1466. This may have been the inspiration for the visualization made in the triptych, depicting the science of the proportion of reward and punishment depending on merits.[50] It was a new way of expressing knowledge in a painting with the use of a diagram, as in scientific illustrations, drawing allusions to theology, philosophy, and astrology. The geometrical diagram in Memling's triptych was noted by both Drost and Krassowski.[51] Jan van Eyck's paintings were structured in a similar way, one example being the *Ghent Altarpiece*, as proven by Schwaetzer[52] and Schneider.[53] The ideas discussed in Basel about combining faith with representations of knowledge were picked up by the enlightened commissioners of paintings.[54] And the mobility of the Council participants contributed to

the dissemination of these ideas.[55] Florens Deuchler and Jürgen Miethke noted the popularity of *ars memorativa* in the context of processes in this type of reasoning for visual arts. The Council influenced the use of the *ars demonstrativa* method in mid-fifteenth-century art by combining philosophical and theological issues, presented by means of the diagram composition. Imbach[56] analysed the way it happened, pointing to ecclesiological theses and the science of Trinitarian theology, which was synthesized by Heymericus, and then by Nicholas of Cusa, referring to the teachings of St Paul on *speculo in aenigmata* and the need to indicate visible things by which one can try to recognize the invisible. This is the reason for the double mirror motif in Memling's triptych and the strong divisions in the painting into top, bottom, right and left sides This chapter highlights the role of the altarpiece as the carrier of learned information, introduced into the plan of the triptych as a result of contacts made by the Italian humanist elite in Bruges and an artist of German origin, Hans Memling, who had links with other artists in German countries, which, as it turns out, helped to spread those ideas in Colmar, Gdańsk, Nuremberg, Naples, and even in Cracow.

In 1999, Nicolaisen posed the question of whether Martin Schongauer had worked in Memling's workshop. The answer is affirmative, especially in light of Ulrike Heindrichs' research.[57] The relations between German painters and Memling, Michael Wolgemut and Martin Schongauer, as well as Dürer's apprenticeship in Memling's workshop, are interesting. It is possible that Memling initially practised at Konrad Witz's, where he acquired a love for landscapes. He could be older than it is thought. He did not study at Stefan Lochner's, but he was familiar with his paintings.[58] He and Schongauer had a brief association with Dirck Bouts' studio.[59] We cannot say for sure whether they worked together with Weyden or whether Schongauer worked only in Memling's workshop. Lane argues that Schongauer, Michael Sittow,[60] the Master of the St Bartholomew Altarpiece and Albrecht Dürer were apprentices in Memling's workshop.[61]

Dürer's stay with Memling would have had to take place at the end of the master's life, hence during Dürer's apprenticeship journey around 1490–1492.[62] On the triptych painted in 1491 for Adolf Heinrich Greverade, a merchant from Lübeck, Memling portrayed himself, Michael Wolgemut and the young Dürer (Figure 9.3), which was suggested by Evers in 1972,[63] and confirmed by Till-Holger Borchert.[64] There is no documentary evidence regarding the route of Dürer's apprenticeship journey.[65] The arguments are indirect, made on the basis of Dürer's early works, such as *Portrait of the Artist Holding a Thistle* from 1493, made in the convention of Memling's portraits. Memling's leading professional position was emulated by the itinerant Schongauer, who worked in Spain.[66] Nicolaisen believes that evidence of Schongauer's collaboration with Memling on the *Last Judgement* is a drawing belonging to Schongauer, which Dürer received from the master's brothers when he came from the Netherlands to Colmar on his apprenticeship journey in 1492. The drawing depicts Christ as judge and resembles the

Figure 9.3 Hans Memling, Grevede Triptych, 1491, St. Anne Museum für Kunst- und Kulturgedichte, Lübeck, fragment with portraits: H. Memling, A. Dürer, M. Wolgemut

Saviour from Memling's triptych.[67] Dürer wrote down the date of 1469 on Schongauer's drawing. It may be a copy of the drawing, or indeed the original, that Memling used while painting the *Last Judgement*, and it must have come from Weyden's studio. This is not the only indication of Memling's acquaintance with Schongauer in the 1460s and their joint work during the drawing phase of work on the altarpiece for the Florentines. A much more interesting clue is provided by the *Last Judgement* fresco painted after 1485 by Schongauer for the church in Breisach.[68] As Heinrichs pointed out, the Breisach fresco was based on the programme of Christian Neoplatonism.[69] She noted the influence of Memling's *Last Judgement*, the *ars memorativa* system, and the fact that the tones of both paintings allude to the Christian *Philosophia sapientia's* search for degrees of spiritual perfection and balance between wisdom and faith. In the painting from Gdańsk and Breisach, the axis of the world (I) in the Christ–Man relationship is an important element of the composition, as in the concept of Nicholas of Cusa. Moreover, in the context of the meaning of Memling's altarpiece and the altarpiece painted by Schongauer, for the first time the mysterious drawing engraving by Albrecht Dürer, *Melancolia I* (1514), can be fully understood. It emphasizes the role of philosophy assisting in the spiritual ascent towards God. The engraving by

Dürer depicts winged justice sitting at the foot of a tower, staring at the sky, as described by Elfriede Scheil.[70] Zitzlsperger[71] reviewed this issue. Today we can sum up that issue saying that in the fifteenth century the wisdom of justice was treated in scholarly circles as a synonym (*phia philosophia*), an aid for man in his search for arguments supporting his faith.[72] In this sense, the personification of Justice with a compass, as seen in Dürer's engraving, holds the same role as St Michael, standing on a stone wearing mirrored armour, an attribute of prudence – a synonym for Philosophy.

Also, in the epitaph of the humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus) (1437–1496),[73] in the Dominican Church in Cracow, a mirror is depicted in a wisdom context, next to the scientist in a studio.[74] Does that theme have anything to do with Florentine humanism and Bruges? Indeed, it does: it was a symbol known to the Florentine humanists, a symbol of the soul's wisdom in the context of the thought of salvation.[75] Callimachus was a member of the *Academia Romana vel Sodalitas Quirinalis*, a branch of the *Chorus Acchademie Fiorentine* set up in Rome in 1467. To this day, the circumstances of Callimachus' visit to Poland are not clearly understood. Probably after accusing him of a conspiracy against the Pope, Callimach obtained the support of influential friends and was transported to Poland.[76] Callimachus, apart from knowing the ideas of Florentine humanists, might have had some information about the altar on which Memling was working in Bruges, in the resumption phase, because he knew T. Portinari and his collaborator Francesco Tedaldi working in Bruges in the 1460s and 1470s Florentine merchant and humanist, Francesco Tedaldi, who exchanged letters with Ficino,[77] and was friends with Portinari.[78] This author of Latin poems kept in touch with Francesco di ser Sermattei, who was mentioned in a papal bull issued by Sixtus IV in 1477, which was sent to the city of Gdańsk, requesting the return of goods plundered by Benecke, including the triptych.[79] Tedaldi owned the *San Matteo* galley that carried Memling's triptych in 1473.[80] The di ser Matteo family working for the Medici was also important in these contacts. It handled trade and transport between Constantinople, Venice and Pisa, and also transported luxury goods to the Netherlands, Germany and Gdańsk.[81] Francesco Tedaldi had a Florentine cousin in Cracow, called Ainolfo Tedaldi – a merchant and humanist, a friend of Ficino and Filippo Buonaccorsi, to whom he was related through his mother, Octavia Pazzi. When Kallimach enrolled in the University of Cracow in 1472, he was enrolled as: Filipus Calimachus de Thedaldis, poet de Florentia.

Ainolfo Tedaldi, as a representative of the Medici bank, came to Cracow in 1458. He was the son of Pierozzo di Talento Tedaldi and Octavia Pazzi. He was born in Florence in 1428 as a member of a wealthy Florentine patrician family from Badia Fiesole. Tedaldi was married to Dorotea Herburt di Felsztyn, and they were successful in the salt trade. Tedaldi brokered an order from Vita Stoss for a statue of St. Roch to Florence, to the Tedaldi Chapel in the SS. Annunziata.[82]

It was he who helped bring Callimachus to Cracow and gave him his first shelter.[83] It is possible that all friends of Francesco Tedaldi and Francesco di Ser Mattei helped.[84] Representatives of the Ser Mattei (or di ser Matteo) family lived in Venice, Apulia and Cracow; owned a family business dealing in international trade; and also operated in the Adriatic, Constantinople and Germany.[85] Their city of origin was Florence; they dealt with trusted shipments of luxury goods and works of art, mainly for the Medici and on individual orders.[86] Their ancestor, a merchant, Filippo Scolari, was an advisor to King Sigismund of Luxembourg in Hungary.[87] Callimachus' contact with the Florentines and the news about works on the altar for de Medici in Bruges by Memlinga could have resulted in the selection of the mirror motif for his epitaph in Cracow.[88] Callimachus also met Anselmo Adornes, a merchant and diplomat from Bruges. Adornes was interested in literary texts, especially *Somnium Scipionis*by Cicero.[89] These were similar topics that Callimachus was interested in. Buonaccorsi corresponded with Tommaso Portinari.[90] A letter sent by Callimachus from Toruń to Portinari, dated 1474, proves that Callimachus, travelling to the north of Poland, could become interested and watch the Memling's *Last Judgement* altar transported to Gdańsk. During this time, the robbery of the Medici, Sykstus IV and Charles the Bold goods gained publicity. The case concerned the legation from Bruges to Gdańsk with the intention of reaching King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk to recover the losses incurred as a result of Paul Beneke's action on the Florentine galley. No wonder then that the Renaissance ideas of the altar were remembered by him and he decided to recreate these thoughts on his tombstone, issuing instructions towards the end of his life in Cracow.

The tombstone of Kallimach is the first in Europe entitled an Italian sophisticated humanistic epitaph of a linguist and writer. Until now, scholars have not noticed that Callimachus was depicted against a fabric with a pomegranate pattern, a symbol of the Lord's Passion and Redemption. The motifs of grapevines with putti placed in the border refer to faith in the resurrection. Above Callimachus there is a swan, the symbol of Apollo, and on the opposite side a rooster, signifying the doomsday cry. Under the influence of philological discoveries in ancient literature, these attributes were used to personify Hermes the Psychopomp, the guardian of souls in the fifteenth century, associated with God's Wisdom (seen in the figure of Hermes Trismeginestos as an ancient theological science, especially when translated in 1463) by Ficino *Primander.*[91] The humanist Callimachus' search for Sapientia Dei here on earth is equivalent to the mirror of the soul's reason placed above the work deskThe idea was inspired by the philosophy of Nicholas of Cuba of two heavenly and divine worlds, reflected in each other like in a mirror. The mirror symbolizes the sense of knowledge, internal sight, the prudence of a humanist, to fight sin, and spiritual improvement to return to paradise. Ato is the teamt of Memling's painting. The same idea was presented by H. Memling in the altar. Here, a purely Florentine vision was

used, combining the knowledge of the ancient Greek and the Christian with the idea of the judgement. Different than the Flemish-German iconography of St. Jerome in the studio emphasizing the knowledge and learning.

There is also a notable memorial from Naples (Epitaph of St Jerome and Giacomo, *c.* 1480, Neapolitan Master, Museo di Capodimonte), in which the figure of St Michael resembles the one on the closed wing of Memling's triptych. The artist who painted this epitaph (though not a Flemish painter) closely follows the original. He had seen Memling's triptych but was using a preparatory drawing for the triptych. This painter could have been Zanetto Bugatto, who was sent to Weyden in Brussels (1460–1463) by Francesco Sforza.[92] At the end of his life, while visiting Rogier van Weyden's studio, he met Memling. Interestingly, the St Michael on the closed wing of Memling's triptych, with his clothes featuring a round clasp fastening the coat, resembles the sculpture of St Michael, found in 1986, from the portal of the cathedral in Brno, that also focused on the theme of the *Last Judgement*.[93] The city was situated on the transalpine route.

* * *

The above-mentioned painting examples illustrate the commercial and political network that created local and foreign images of art via the transalpine contacts of the educated elites of the fifteenth century. The artistic message existed through eyesight, conversations, incunabula, books, drawings, and engravings that today we read from works of art.[94] The role played by Hans Memling's programme of the *Last Judgement* triptych, commissioned by Florentine humanists in Bruges from an artist of German origin, is an example of a learned information carrier. Memling's connections with other artists in German countries helped spread humanistic ideas in Colmar, Gdańsk, Nuremberg, Naples and even Cracow. The paintings of Weyden and Memling were also known to Nicholas of Cusa, who valued these painters and recommended them to his Florentine friends.

Scheller provided an explanation of the importance of drawings and model books for the artistic transfer process in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Carpo and Lucas noted that oral transmission and drawings were important means in that exchange.[95] It is worth paying attention to the signals that we read today from works of art, suggesting that contacts were made between artists and humanist founders, who influenced the content of the works. Here, the example of the *Last Judgement* is fascinating, as it allows us to trace the influence of Memling's studio on commissioned epitaphs and engravings, and it also reveals evidence of cooperation with Weyden and Schongauer, and the influence on the early works of Dürer and Bugatto. The exchange of ideas took place in Geneva, Lyon, Lausanne, Basel, Brno, along the Rhine valley, France and Flanders, England and further north along the trade routes of the Hanseatic League.

Notes

1 Barbara G. Lane, Hans Memling: *Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2009), 17–19; Till-Holger Borchert (ed.), *Memling Rinascimento Fiammingo*, 80–81. Catalogue of exhibition held at Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome (11 Oct 2014–18 Jun 2015) (Milano: Skira, 2014).

2 Hans Memling (c. 1430–1494), *The Last Judgement*, 1463–1473, mixed technique: tempera, oil, board; central panel: 242 × 180.8 cm; wings: 2 × [242 × 90 cm], MNG/SD/413/M.

3 Dirk De. Vos, *Catalogus Hans Memling, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts Bruges 12.8–15.11.1994* (Brugge: Ludion, 1994), 38–65.

4 Jana Lucas, *Europa in Basel. Das Konzil von Basel 1431–1449 als Laboratorium der Kunst* (Basel: Schwabe, 2017), 26–33.

5 Here, the influence came from, among others, Nicholas of Cusa and his teacher, the Brabant scholar Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460). At the Council of Basel between 1433 and 1435, he presented the treatise *De sigillo aeternitatis*, including a diagram illustrating knowledge in the context of painting and philosophy: Florian Hamann, *Das Siegel der Ewigkeit. Universalwissenschaft und Konziliarismus bei Heymericus de Campo* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2006), 37–42; Lioba Geis, "Das 'Siegel der Ewigkeit' als Universalsymbol. Diagrammatik bei Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460)", in *Vom Bild zur Erkenntnis? Visualisierungs-konzepte in den Wissenschaften*, ed. Dominik Gross and Stefanie Westermann (Kassel Kassel: University Press, 2007), 131–148.

6 Beata Purc-Stępniak. *Sąd Ostateczny Hansa Memlinga – między uczoną teologią a filozofią. Idea zwierciadła w malarstwie europejskim XV–XVI wieku*, 1–2 (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum. Biblioteka tradycji, 2012), 189–201. The altar is a model image that combines the ideas of Nicholas of Cusa (mathematical theology) with the treatise on painting by Alberti. The triptych's compositions were based on the quadrature with the use of the Heymericus' diagram and the central perspective (vanishing point in the armour of St Michael), with emphasis on the ethics and rhetoric of the image. On demonstrative images, cf. Dubois, *Zentralperspektive*, 14–21; Charles H. Carman, *Leon Battista Alberti and Nicholas Cusanus*: *Towards an Epistemology* of Vision for Italian Renaissance Art and Culture (London, New York: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2021).

7 The main pictured concept was *coincidentia oppositorum* (convergence of opposites). The commissioners asked for portraits in paintings and a display of knowledge: Isabelle Mandrella, "Begrif und Funktion der Neuheit in der Philosophie des Nicolaus Cusanus", in *Die Modernitäten des Nikolaus von Kues. Debatten und Rezeptionen*, ed. Tom Müller and Matthias Vollet, 23–42. (Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 215–250; Harald Schwaetzer, "Bunte Geometrie. Die Farben im Sigillum aeternitatis des Heymericus de Campo im Kontext von Malerei und Philosophie", in *Heymericus de Campo: Philosophie und Theologie im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Klaus Reinhardt (Regensburg: Roderer Verlag, 2009), 183–204; Wolfgang Christian Schneider and Harald Schwaetzer, Marc de Mey and Inigo Bocken. *'Videre et videri coincidunt' – Theorien des Sehens in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), 251–257; Wolfgang Christian Schneider, "Das Cusanische Denken in malen Jan van Eycks", in *Die Modernitäten des Nikolaus von Kues. Debatten und Rezeptionen*, ed. Tom Müller and Matthias Vollet (Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 215–250.

8 James Hankins, "The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence", *Renaissance Quarterly* 44.3 (Autumn 1991): 429–475. For a different approach, see Arthur Field, "The Platonic Academy of Florence", in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His, Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J. B. Allen, Valery Rees and Martin Davies (Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill, 2002), 369–376.

9 This triggers disputes about the authorship of the work: Molly Faries, and Bernhard Ridderbos. "Hans Memling's *Last Judgement* in Gdańsk. Technical Evidence and Creative Process", *Oud Holland* 130.3/4 (2017): 57–82.
10 Lane, *Memling*, 628.
11 Peter Murray, and Linda Murray, *The Art of the Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), 156.
12 Aby Warburg, "Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Frührenaissance Studien. I", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 23.3/4 (1902): Warburg, 247–266.
13 In 1465, Piero de' Medici was granted a coat of arms by Louis XI (who was in debt to the Medici bank), hence the reference to the coat of arms of the de Valois family, from which the King of France John II the Good descended (1350–1364).
14 L'Arte Minore dei Fabbri.
15 Lemma translation: Warburg, *The Renewal*, 287, 299: do not weaken/without hesitation. The motto referred to the compass of the proper measure of virtue (virtù) and the geometry of the world, whose divine beauty is reflected by the soul – this is the compass of the humanist's balance. Explained in: Pfisterer, "*I libri di Filarete"*, 161–171. Wakayama, Eiko M. L., "Filarete e il compasso: nota aggiunta alla teoria prospettica Albertina", *Arte Lombarda* 18.38/39 (1973): 161–171.
16 Michael Rohlmann, "Im Sturm der Wogen und Geschäfte. Die Florentiner Auftraggeber von Hans Memlings Danziger 'Weltgericht'", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 July 1991; Paula Nuttall, "Memlinc's Last Judgment, Angelo Tani and the Florentine Colony at Bruges", in *Polish and English Responses to French Art and Architecture*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 155–165; Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence. The Impact of Netherlandish Painting (1400–1500)* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 159.
17 Beata Możejko, *Burzliwe dzieje wielkiej karaweli 'Peter von Danzig' z Sądem Ostatecznym Hansa Memlinga we tle* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2018), 101–130. The fourth journey of St Matthew galley from Pisa to Bruges at the end of September 1473, which was supposed to carry the *Last Judgement* triptych by Memling to Pisa, is well documented by letters written by the galley's patron, Francesco Sermattei, among others to Lorenzo de' Medici and other Medici envoys. Tobias Daniels and Arnold Esch. "A Donatello for Rome, a Memling for Florence. The maritime transports of the Sermattei of Florence", *Renaissance Studies* 35.4 (2021): 658–674.
18 Przemysław Trzeciak, *Hans Memling* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1981), 25.
19 Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Florentine Convent as Practiced Place. Cosimo de'Medici, Fra Angelico, and the Public Library of San Marco", *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012): 230–271. Terry-Fritsch, "*Florentine Convent"*, 230–271; Angela Dressen, and Klaus Pietschmann (eds), *The Badia Fiesolana: Augustinian and Academic Locus Amoenus in the Florentine Hills* (Zürich: Lit Verlag GMBH, 2016).
Dressen and Pietschmann (ed), *The Badia Fiesolana*.
20 Emanuela Ferretti, "La Sapienza di Niccolò da Uzzano: l'istituzione e le sue tracce architettoniche nella Firenze rinascimentale", *Annali di Storia di Firenze* 4 (2009): 127.
21 The so-called *Academy* was a cultural movement that was set up in Florence before 1462, not around M. Ficino – he was too young, but around John of Argyropoulos. It was supported by Cosimo de' Medici, his sons and grandson, which linked it with the bank's activities as collateral for the members of the community. St Michael' councils, called confraternities or brotherhoods, worked for the sick and poor widows, and granted loans if disasters occurred: Marco Giuliani, *Le Arti Fiorentine* (Firenze: Scramasax, 2006); Marcello Vannucci, *Storia di Firenze* (Firenze: Newton & Compton, 1992).

22 Vittorio Rossi, "L'indole e gli studi di G. di Cosimo de' Medici. Notizie e documenti, in *Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*", vol. 2 (Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1893), 38–60, 129–150; Amanda Lillie, "Giovanni di Cosimo and the villa Medici at Fiesole," in *Piero de' Medici* "*il Gottoso*" *(1416–1469). Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer*, ed. Andreas Beyer and Bruce Boucher (Berlin: Akademie, 1993), 189–205; Walter di Ingeborg, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 73 (2009); Zuraw Shelley, The Medici portrait of Mino da Fiesole, in *Pietro de'Medici il Giottosco*, hrsg. Andreas Beyer und Bruce Boucher; Francis Ames-Lewis (Berlin: Akademie, 1993), 317–339. Letters sent to Giovanni in 1448 and 1460 by agents from Bruges show that he was interested in Dutch fabrics and paintings.

23 John Paoletti, "'ha fatto Piero con volunta del paote …'. Piero de'Medici and corporate commissions of Art, in Piero de'Medici 'il Gottosco' (1416–1469)", *Kunst im Dinste der Mediceer*, ed. Andreas Beyer and Bruce Boucher (Berlin: Akademie, 1993), 222–224.

24 Emilio di Bigi, "Giovanni Argiropulo", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 4 (1962); Rabil Jr., Albert. *Knowledge, Goodness, and Power: The Debate Over Nobility Among Quattrocento Italian Humanists* (New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 197.

25 Janika Päll, "Far away from Byzantium: Pronunciation and Orthography of Greek in the 17th-Century Estonia", in *Byzantino-Nordica 2004*, ed. Ivo Volt and Janika Päll, 94; Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 252.

26 Waldemar Rolbiecki, "Od Studium Generale Florentine do Chorus Achademiae Florentinae, pierwszej włoskiej akademii renesansowej", *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 20.2 (1975): 191–220.

27 Similarity on the basis of a painting by Benozzo Gozzoli, *Chapel of the Magi*, Palazzo Medici, Florence); and Mino da Fiesole, Bust of Giovanni de' Medici: Franco Cardini and Lucia Ricciardi. *Die Heiligen Drei Könige im Palazzo Medici*. Firenze; et al. Print book. German, 2004., 47. Proof: the same heraldic colours and a ring painted on a cassone of the Medici family, around 1450–1460, Philadelphia Museum of Art: access 30.01. 22.

28 Similarity on the basis of Verrocchio's *Lady with Flowers*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (inv. 115). The sculpture was donated to the Uffizi by the director Giovanni degli Alessandri [letter of 19 February 1825]. The sculpture was, therefore, still held by the same family: Marco Campigli, "Andrea dell Verrocchio, Lady with Flowers", in *Verrocchio, Master of Leonardo*. Catalogue of exhibition held at Palazzo Strozzi, Florence and Museo Nazionale del Bargello (9 Mar–14 Jul 2019), ed. Frances Caglioti and Andrea de Marchi (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2019), 86; Barocchi, "La storia degli Uffizi", note. 431; Natalie R. Tomas, *The Medici Women. Gender and Power in Renaissance* (Florence: Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 47.

29 Tomas, *The Medici*, 7–17.

30 Marco Giuliani, *Le Arti Fiorentine* (Firenze: Scramasax, 2006). Around 1450/1453 Rogier van der Weyden painted for Cosimo de' Medici *Entombment* (Uffizi) and *Madonna Medici* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt) under a canopy with Sts Cosmas and Damian (portraits of Cosimo's sons with their patron saints, John and Peter, both patrons of Florence) – for the seat of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali. The painting was commissioned by Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, who worked in a bank in Rome at that time. He had his share in purchasing art and recommending artists: Pernis, Maria Grazia, and Laurie Adams. *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici and the Medici family in the fifteenth century* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2006), 28.

31 Originally, the wife's coat of arms was placed in the husband's quarters and vice versa. A similar coat of arms is embedded in the town hall on the market square in Badia. The coat of arms in the triptych was repainted and completed with emblems, identifying and modified for the needs of the gymnasium (heraldic content and heraldic couple). Francesca Fumi Cambi Gado, "Araldica ed emblematica nelle arti figurative e decorative: lineamenti di metodologia interdisciplinare", in *L'identità genealogica e araldica*, 181–202 (Roma: 2000), 184–189.

32 The Medici coat of arms with six red balls placed within a diamond ring, embracing a compass and a motto: FONIA. CHO MENSVRA [voice-measure] (Music, geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic made up for mathematics, and it meant a lot for theological knowledge, as it united the human mind with the divine). *Omnia in mensura et pondere er numero fecisti*: Francesca Fumi Cambi Gado and Emanuele Grazzini and Alice Ruscelli, *Stemmi dei podestà e segni dei notai della antica Lega del Chianti* (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2018). Ruscelli, Stemmi dei Podestà.

33 Dendrological research and analysis of photographic materials confirm that the commencement of work on the triptych had started earlier than it was thought and Weyden participated in it. On this subject: Iwona Szmelter and Tomasz Ważny. "Multi-Disciplinary Complex Research to Reconsider Basic Questions on Attribution and Dating of the Last Judgment Triptych from National Museum in Gdańsk by Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling", in *Heritage Wood, Investigation and Conservation of Art on* Wood, ed. Augustin Nevin and Małgorzata Savicki. However, it is difficult to agree with the concept that the triptych is a work designed by Weyden and posthumously finished by Memling. It was Memling who, under the influence of the founder, changed the original version of the altar and the iconography. Weyden and his workers made: the closed altar wings, the upper part of the middle panel, and the paradise wing. The "hell" wing has not yet been thoroughly analysed, and no photographic material is available.

34 Sonija Brink, *Mercurius Mediceus. Studien zur panegyrischen Verwendung der Merkurgestalt im Florenz des 16 Jahrhunderts* (Worms: Werner, 1987); Hansoon Lee, *Kunsttheorie in der Kunst. Studien zur Ikonographie von Minerva, Merkur und Apollo im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang AG, 1996), 79.

35 Peter Klaus Schuster, *Melencolia I. Dürers Denkbild*, vol. 1–2 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag und der Deutsche Verlag, 1991) T.1, 131–132; Cf. Elfriede Scheil, "Albrecht Dürers Melancolia I und Gerechtigkeit", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70.2 (2007): 201–214. In the fifteenth century in Florence, in similar pictures and engravings, the throne of Philosophia-Wisdom (Philosophia-Sapientia) or, as in the treatise on architecture Filarete – the embodiment of Virtus-Sol was placed high on the top. Beata Purc-Stępniak, "Portraits on Hans Memling's Last Judgement, or How Prudence and Fame were Portrayed. A Contribution to the Research on the History of the Portrait and its Commemorative Role in 15th Century European Art", *Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei* 12.2 (2017): 355–401.

36 In meaning, virtue is eternal against adversity according to *Consolatio Philosophiae* by Boethius. The iconography of St Michael and Mercurius is merged in the triptych – in the sense of virtù and justice, about which the Florentine scholar Alberti wrote (the poem *Virtus et Mercurius*): David Marsh, *Studies on Alberti and Petrarch, Routledge* (New York: Ashgate Publishing Published, 2016). chapters: IV, XII, XIII; Anne-Lott Zech, *Imago boni Principis: Der Perseu Mythos zwischen Apotheose und Heilserwachtung in politischen Öffentlichkeit des 16 Jahrhunderts*, ed. F. Kämpfer, Universität Münster, vol. 4 (Münster–Hamburg: LIT, 2000), *Imago*, 69.

37 Friendship/love was understood as an exchange of a gift between people, an exchange of moral obligation. Grabińska, "*Miłość*", 18–24. Placing the statue of Venus Urani next to St Michael was undoubtedly inspired by two drawings: *The Judgment of Virtue* and *Fame and Reason* from Filarete (Trattato d'architettura, 1461–1464, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence), which the author gave to Piero de' Medici, explaining how to present Virtue, Reason, and Will: Purc-Stepniak *Portraits*. The model was the ancient representation of Fama, Fame, and Victoria, associated with the theme of the "house of virtues and vices". The latter idea was used in the "paradise" wing.

38 See: William H. Stahl, Richard Johnson, and Evan L. Burge (trans.). *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal* Arts, vol. 2, *The Marriage of Philosophy and Mercury* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

39 Christiane J. Hessler, "Piero dela Francesca Panorama", *Zeitschrift für Kunsgeschichte* 55.2 (1992): 170; 175.

40 The concept coming from ancient Greek philosophy used by Plato in Timajos (47e3–52d1) is difficult to translate and concerns the recognition made from a given place, here made by souls from the earth. The inscription ANNO DOMM. CCCLXVII ΧΩΡΑ = THIS YEAR AT HOME {in place} 1467 CHORA is located on a stone slate on which a woman, symbolizing the wisdom of the soul Sophia, is sitting in the centre of the triptych's central panel. Perhaps this is how *Chorus Acchademie Fiorentine* was commemorated: See: Derrida, Χώρα/Chora. Jacques Derrida, *Χώρα/Chora*, translated by Maria Gołębiewska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo KR, 1999).

41 Alberti connected "the Eye" with the omniscient God the Judge: Huub van der Linden, "Alberti, Quid Tum? and the redemption of Terence in early Renaissance humanism", *Albertiana* 11–12 (2008–2009), 99.

42 Hans Aurenhammer, "'Liberalitas', the Image of a Friendly Virtue as a Hidden Self-Portrait in Leon Battista Alberti's 'Della Pittura'", in *Renaissance Love. Eros, Passion and Friendship in Italian Art around 1500*, ed. Janek Kohl, Mariane Kods and Adrian W. B. Randolph (Berlin: Deutsche Kunstverlag, 2014), 158–162.

43 The emblem of the winged eye of God (sharpness of vision) featured in: Alberti, Fabula Philodoxeos (1424); in Della Familia (1438) with the text qvid tvm? In Anulla (1432) and on medals for Alberti from 1435 and 1446–1450). Bredekamp, Horst. *Bilder bewegen. Von Kunstkammer zum Endspiel* (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach Verlag, 2007), 198.

44 Raymond L. Lee and Alistair B. Fraser. *The Rainbow Bridge: Rainbows in Art, Myth, and Science* (Bellingham: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 51.

45 According to Plato, the rational part of the soul harmonizes opposites and strives for virtue and spiritual wisdom (see: Kohl, Jeanette. "Sublime Love. The Bust of Platonic Youth", in *Renaissance Love: Eros, Passion, and Friendship in Italian Art around 1500*, ed. Jeanette Kohl, Marianne Koos and Adrian W. B. Randolph (München–Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2014).

46 Early eleventh century, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 190, fol. 102.

47 A reference to the eternity and liberal science diagram is used here: Lioba Geis, "Das "Siegel der Ewigkeit" als Universalsymbol. Diagrammatik bei Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460)", in *Vom Bild zur Erkenntnis? Visualisierungs-konzepte in den Wissenschaften*, ed. Dominik Gross and Stefanie Westermann (Kassel Kassel: University Press, 2007), 131–147.

48 Inspired by Cusa's treatises (cf. ill. from *De Coniecturis* around 1442, k. 32–59; *De non aliud*, 1461–1462; *De venatione sapientiae*, 1462–1463; *De apice theoriae*

1464; Dialogus de ludo globi, 1463) like the transition from mathematics to metaphysics (squaring the circle), *Dialogus de circuli quadratura*, 1457: Tom Müller, *Perspektivität und Unendlichkeit* (Regensburg: S. Roderer Verlag, 2010), 47–73.

49 Cf. Nicholas of Cusa, *Ad divina non nisi per symbola accendendi nobis via patet* (Docta Ignorantia I, XI, n. 32).

50 The proportions are understood geometrically in reference to the Bible and to *Timajos* by Plato. Cf. the proportions of the human body, described in *De ingeneis* by Mariano Taccola, c. 1420 (Monaco, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 197, fol. 36v.): Ulrich Pfisterer, "I libri di Filarete", *Arte Lombarda*, Nuova serie 155.1 (2009): 109.

51 Willi Drost, *Das Jüngste Gericht des Hans Memling* (Wien: Anton Schroll & Co, 1941), 26–27; Witold Krassowski, "O kilku kompozycjach opartych na odwzorowaniu podziałów strefy niebieskiej", in *Renesans, sztuka i ideologia*, ed. Tadeusz Jaroszewski, 381–399.

52 Harald Schwaetzer, "Bunte Geometrie. Die Farben im Sigillum aeternitatis des Heymericus de Campo im Kontext von Malerei und Philosophie", in *Heymericus de Campo: Philosophie und Theologie im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Klaus Reinhardt (Regensburg: Roderer Verlag, 2009), 183–204.

53 Wolfgang Christian Schneider, "Das Cusanische Denken in malen Jan van Eycks", in *Die Modernitäten des Nikolaus von Kues. Debatten und Rezeptionen*, ed. Tom Müller and Matthias Vollet (Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2013), Schneider, *Das Cusanische*, 215–250.

54 Schwaetzer Schneider, de Mey, Bocken: «videre et videri coincidunt».

55 Lucas: *Europa*, 30–33.

56 Ruedi Imbach, "Primumprincipium. Anmerkungen zum Wandel in der Auslegung der Bedeutung und Funktion des Satzes vom zu vermeidenden Widerspruch bei Thomas von Aquin, Nicolaus von Autrécourt, Heymericus de Campo und Nicolaus von Kues", in *Die Logik des Transzendentalen: Festschrift für Jan A. Aertsen zum 65*, ed. Martin Pickavé (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 609–613.

57 Jan Nicolaisen, "Martin Schongauer – ein Mitarbeiter der Werkstatt Hans Memlings? Zur Wanderschaft Schongauers und dem Einfluß der niederländischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts aus sein Werk", *Pantheon* 57 (1999): 33–56; Ulrike Heinrichs, "Das Zitat aus Boethius' Philosophiae consolatio im Breisacher Weltgericht. Zur Bedeutung des Medienwechsels in Martin Schongauers Bildkonzeption der Darstellung des Himmels der Seligen", in *Boethius Christianus*? *Transformationen der Consolatio philosophiae in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Nicola Kaminski and Franz Lebsanft (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 217–246.

58 Lane, *Hans Memling*.

59 On the side wing by the risen Christ (Dirck Bouts, Altar of Passion, Museo de la Capilla Real, Granada), a man is depicted who shows a resemblance to the figure painted in the centre of Memling's triptych, rising from the tomb with his hand at his forehead.

60 Robert Rebas, Der Maler Michel Sittow, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der baltischen Kunst*, (Giessen: Schmitz, 1988), 211–242.

61 Lane, *Hans Memling*.

62 Michael Roth and Barbara Ulrich. *Dürers Mutter, Schönheit, Alter und Tod im Bild der Renaissance*. Catalogue of exhibition held at Kupferstichkabinett-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (5 May–16 Jul 2006) (Berlin: Nicolai, 2006), 181.

63 Hans Gerhard Evers, *Dürer bei Memling* (München: Fink, 1972), 132; Hans Memling, Passion (Greverade) Altarpiece 1491, St. Anne Museum für Kunst- und Kulturgedichte, Lübeck: Borchert, Portrait, 37, 40, Abb. 29.

64 Borchert, Portrait, 38.
65 Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser (eds). *The Early Dürer*. Catalogue of exhibition held at Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremburg (24 May–2 Sep 2012) (Nürnberg: Verlag Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2012), 39–40.
66 A. Ulrich Koch, "Martin Schongauer in Valencia? Hypothesen zu einer möglichen Spanienreise im 1470", *Weltkunst* 63.9 (1993): 1061–1063; Fedja Anzelewsky, "Schongauers Spanienreise", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58.1 (1995): 1–21.
67 Martin Schongauer, Christ the Judge, drawing, (Paris, the Louvre, Inv. No. 18785): Nicolaisen 1999, p. 46, ill. 45; cat. 143; 144 in: Till-Holger Borchert, *Van Eyck to Dürer. Early Netherlandish Painting and Central Europe 1430–1530*. Catalogue of exhibition held at Groeningen Museum, Bruges (29 Oct 2010–30 Jan 2011) (Brugge: Lannoo, 2010), 309–310.
68 Nicolaisen, *Martin Schongauer*, 47–48, ill. 48.
69 Heinrichs, *Das Zitat*, 217–246 (the author discusses a fresco by M. Schongauer, who was Memling's collaborator and used the same model for the *Last Judgement* in Breisach, basing it on the Boetian idea).
70 Scheil, *Albrecht Dürers*, 201–214.
71 *Melancolia I* von Albrecht Dürer von Philipp von Senden Zitzlsperger, "Weltkunst" Nr. 61, (2012): 82, 103Zi.
72 Dürer showed in engraving "Melancolia I" the same theme as in Memling's "Last Judgement" triptych with St. Michael and portrayed the human situationa: melancholic woman with wings sitting on a cube under the tower of wisdom (turris sapientiae) as the personification of Justic and at the same time Famy.
73 Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus) was in Rome the secretary of Cardinal Bartolomeo Rovelli. He was involved in a plot against the life of Pope Paul II, along with Platina and Pomponius Letus. After having been accused, he fled to Poland and stayed there. Albert Gorzkowski, "Ścigany przez los. Filip Buonaccorsi-Kallimach – renesansowy humanista w szacie Odysa", *Znak* 5 (1997): 87–90.
74 He was aware of what the symbol of the mirror meant for Florentine scholars. Callimach's correspondence with Ficino, sent from Cracow, has been preserved. He was also friends with Konrad Celtis. In his will, Callimach mentions his tombstone.
75 A virtuous husband contemplates the three powers of the soul: memory, intelligence, and will. The tradition of *Mater Sapientiae* and its mirror attribute played a role here: Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998).
76 Penka Danova, L'Impero ottomano nella vita e nell'opera di Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimaco Esperiente), Études balkaniques/Balkan Studies, 1/1993, 74–89.
77 Cf. Daniels, Esch, *A Donatello for Rome,* 667.
78 Valentin Vermeersch (ed.), *Brügge und Europa* (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1992), 236; Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270–1600* (Southampton: University College Oxford, 1951), 214.
79 Brügge und Europa, 236; Ruddock 1951, p. 198, 214. The author of Latin poems, a humanist.
80 Papal bull 1477 (odpis IV, Archiwum Państwowe Gdańsk, 300D, 41 A, no. 28).
81 Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank. 1397–1494* (Washington: Beard Books, 1999) (reprint 1963), 347. San Giovanni, Chiavi: "di ser Matteo overo Sermattei": Francesco Bettarini, The New Frontier: Letters and Merchants between Florence and Poland in the Fifteenth Century, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge, (2015): 127-2; Kurt Weissen, Die Medici-Bank in Deutschland. Marktstrategien und Handelspraxis der florentinischen Kurienbanken (1417–1475) (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 2021), 105–163.

82 Ingrid Cuilisova, *Stoss, Callimachus and Florence*, Studie/Arcitles, ARS, 42, (2009), 1, ss. 34–46.
83 Ptaśnik, *Kultura*; Kozłowski, Kuczman, *Włoska,* 55–58.
84 Perhaps that is why Mallet (Michael E. Mallett, "Anglo-Florentine Commercial Relations, 1465–1491", *Economic History Review* 15.2 (1962): 256), not understanding that Tedaldi might be a shareholder of the second ship of St George, named the captain Francesco di Ser Matteo Tedaldi, combining the two names.
85 At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the international network of Florentine merchants experimented with expanding their influence in Central Europe, guaranteed by the merchant Filippo Scolari, who became an advisor to King Sigismund in Hungary and the commander of the royal army. His daughter Francesca di Matteo Scolari married Giovanni di Rinaldo Albizzi. Giovanni's sons of ser Matteo were called Sermatteo, and their identity is often confused today because of a Venetian document that identifies them with the Ricci family name: De Roover, 44–45, 377; cf. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Catasto, 1021: 1480, San Giovanni, Chiavi: "di ser Matteo overo Sermattei": Bettarini, *The New Frontier*, 127–2; Weissen, *Die Medici-Bank*, 105–163.
86 Daniels, Esch, *A Donatello*, 658–674; 667.
87 Bettarini, *The New Frontier*, 279–290.
88 The genesis of the image dates back to the tradition of rhetoric and pedagogy of Marcjanus Capella *Artes liberals*: Mazurczak, Urszula. "Philippus Callimachus experiens−vir doctissimus. W poszukiwaniu genezy portretu z epitafium Filippo Buonaccorsiego w kościele oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie", *Roczniki humanistyczne* 42.4 (1994): 74–78; A. Gorzkowski, "Ścigany przez los. Filip Buonaccorsi- Kallimach-renesansowy humanista w szacie Odysa", *Znak* 5 (1997): 84–95.
89 Noël Geirnaert and André Vandewalle (eds). *Adornes and Jerusalem. International Life in 15th- and 16th-Century Bruges*. Catalogue (Brugge: Stad Brugge, 1983).
90 B. Możejko, *Zapomniane poselstwo* do *Polski Anselma Adornes* w *roku 1474. Z dziejów kontaktów między księstwem Burgundii a królem Kazimierzem Jagiellończykiem, in Dzierżawcy*, *Literaci*, *Posłowie*. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza, red. B. Możejko, Mark Smolińskiego, Sobiesław Szybkowski (Malbork, 2011), 97.
91 *Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander* […] (Omnia Latine, opera Marsilii Ficini.) Venedig, in aedibus Aldi (Manutii) et Andreae soceri, 1516, I wyd. 1497; Por. A. Sowińska*,* Hermetica" średniowiecza i renesansu. Studium z historii myśli europejskiej (Katowice, 2018), 100.
92 On 7 May 1463, Bianca Maria Visconti wrote a letter of thanks to Rogier: E. Creighton Gilbert (1998). "The Two Italian Pupils of Rogier van der Weyden: Angelo Macagnino and Zanetto Bugatto", *Arte Lombarda* 122 (1998): 15–17; Albertini Ottolenghi and Maria Grazia. "Zanetto Bugatto nel 1461 e Sforza Secondo Sforza", in *Itinerari d'arte in Lombardia dal XIII al XX secolo*, ed. Matteo Ceriana and Fernando Mazzocca (Milano, 1998), 67–71. Borchert has a different opinion on this matter. He believes that the triptych, painted on the basis of the engraving seen in 1473 in: Till-Holger Borchert (ed.). *Memling Rinascimento Fiammingo*. Catalogue of exhibition held at Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome (11 Oct 2014–18 Jun 2015) (Milano: Skira, 2014). There are indications that Bugatto may have met Antonello da Messina around 1471: Luke Syson, "Zanetto Bugatto, Court Portraitist in Sforza Milan," *The Burlington Magazine* 138.1118 (1996): 300–308.
93 Susan Marti and Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck (eds). Karl der Kühne (1433–1477): Kunst, Krieg und Hofkultur. Catalogue of exhibition held at Historisches Museum, Bern (25 Apr–24 Aug 2008); Bruggemuseum &

Groeningenmuseum, Bruges (27 Mar–21 July 2009) (Stuttgart: Belser, 2008), 336–337.

94 Julius von Schlosser, "Zur Kenntnis der künstlerischen Überlieferung im späten Mittelalter", in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 19 (1902).

95 Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 85; Mario Carpo, "How do you imitate a building that you have never seen? Printed images, ancient models, and handmade drawings in Renaissance architectural theory", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64.2 (2001): 230; Lucas, *Europa in Basel*, 33.

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10 Across boundaries. Artistic exchange (painting, sculpture) in the area between Gdańsk (Danzig) and Königsberg in the late Middle Ages

Andrzej Woziński

In an area of lowland along the southern Baltic coast, from the twelfth century onwards big cities began to emerge, and with them their churches, town halls, townhouses and city walls. They were built almost exclusively of brick since no natural, durable building material was available locally. Water and the reddish colour of the bricks created a common cultural and aesthetic bond between these cities.

These were not the only links. This was a region where oak was commonly used, both for construction and artistic purposes, as a material for sculptures or panel paintings. Amber was another natural material present in significant quantities in this area, and was used in making jewellery, rosaries and figurines.

The communities of the region were shaped by other factors as well: economic, political, religious, cultural and artistic. The economic power of cities was based on shipping, trade and transport. It was not only the sea that facilitated the exchange of goods, but also man-made systems. Many cities belonged to the Hanseatic League, which gave them both commercial and political privileges. Cosmopolitanism was an important feature of these cities. It resulted from mutual contacts, citizens' mobility and the large scale of migration. A common theme among religious and urban communities of the region was their varied artistic tastes – an echo of the cosmopolitanism of Baltic cities. Artists changed their place of work very often, and they took commissions from different clients, which contributed to the spread of diverse forms, styles and iconography. The export and import of works of art reached impressive levels.[1]

Prussia can be identified as a distinct subregion of this area, not only sharing certain common features with it, but also exhibiting some unique traits. Until 1454, Prussia was controlled by the Teutonic Order, whose castles are etched into the local landscape to this day. It was a homogeneous region with a shared, long-lasting tradition. The peace treaty provisions of 1466 transformed this area politically. The Teutonic Order that emerged from the Thirteen Years' War seriously diminished. It became a vassal of Poland, losing the key cities of Gdańsk, Elbląg (Elbing), Toruń (Thorn), Braniewo

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(Braunsberg) and its former capital – Malbork (Marienburg). Königsberg was the only city of considerable significance left in the Teutonic Order's state (*Ordenstaat*).[2]

In this chapter, I will focus on artistic exchange within a narrow northern strip of Prussia between Gdańsk and Königsberg, including Elbląg and Braniewo.[3] The line connecting these cities is around 170 km long and forms a slightly broken curve echoing the shape of the south-east coast of the Gulf of Gdańsk. Merchants travelled and goods, including works of art, were transported along this stretch, most frequently by water, which was facilitated by the fact that these cities were located either on the Baltic Sea or on the Vistula Lagoon. Despite political changes and tensions in the late medieval period, the capital of the Teutonic *Ordenstaat* maintained multiple contacts with some large Prussian cities of the Kingdom of Poland. Königsberg was one of the most important economic partners of Gdańsk within the Prussian area during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The contacts covered fields such as trade, finances and professional education.[4] Trade and finances connected Königsberg and Elbląg as well, but to a lesser extent.[5]

A range of evidence shows that the main direction of travel for art products and artists from Gdańsk and Elbląg was clearly eastwards. Gdańsk was the biggest exporter of works of art in this part of the Baltic region, and examples of them can be found in Elbląg. There is a uniform style to the painted parts of the Elbląg retables from the high altars of the churches of the Holy Magi and Our Lady, and from the altar of the Malt Brewers' (*Mälzenbräuer*) Corporation (all three c. 1515) and that of the Brotherhood of Shoemaker Apprentices (1520), the latter two both originally from Our Lady's Church (all four now in the Church of St. Nicholas, Elbląg). Several motifs on these altarpieces, like garlands, monochrome arcades, the composition of figures and scenes, animated faces, and the manner of painting details such as halos, belong to the repertory of artistic means of expression of Michael of Augsburg, who made the biggest retable in Prussia (-1510–1517) for St Mary's Church in Gdańsk.[6] The similarities are so great that we can assume that the painted parts of the Elbląg retables derive from his workshop.[7]

Danzig paintings and sculptures were delivered to Braniewo. Until 1945, in St Catherine's Church there was a candle holder with a double figure of the Virgin and Child (c. 1515–1525; the surviving part of this figure is currently housed in the Ostpreußisches Landesmuseum, Lüneburg). This piece can be attributed to the workshop of Master Paul,[8] who was active in Gdańsk, and probably for some time in Königsberg also, of which more information is provided below. Thus, we cannot be certain where it came from to Braniewo. In the same church, until 1945 there was a retable from the altar of the Rosary Confraternity (dated 1503),[9] which had been made in Gdańsk. I will return to the subject of its maker a little later.

It is worth saying that in the vicinity of Braniewo – in Pierzchały (Pettelkau), Szalmia (Schalmey) and Pęciszewo (Waltersdorf)[10] – there were sculptures made by Elbląg artists. The retable in the parish church of Pierzchały was created after 1511. Sculptures of the Virgin and Child, St John the Baptist and St Margaret filled the corpus of this altarpiece. The obverse sides of the wings featured sculpted figures of the Twelve Apostles, and scenes from the Passion were painted on the reverse sides. This work was destroyed in 1944; only one panel survives (Toruń, Muzeum Okręgowe). In the same year, a triptych (c. 1510–1515) from the church in Szalmia was lost. In the main part of it there were standing figures of St Anne, and Mary and Child. Paintings adorned both sides of the wings: the Holy Virgins Barbara, Dorothy, Catherine and Margaret on the obverse sides, and Saints Laurence, Anthony, Sebastian and Job on the reverse sides. The triptych from the church in Pęciszewo (dated 1514) still survives and is part of the collections of the Muzeum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej in Olsztyn (Allenstein). The corpus is occupied by sculptures of the Virgin and Child in the centre, and four Holy Virgins on either side. The Twelve Apostles (c. 1400) on the obverse sides of the wings were reused (in the medieval period) from another work; the reverse sides feature pairs of saints (Anne and Laurence; Christopher and Anthony; Sebastian and a Pope; Erasmus and a Bishop). The style of sculptures in these triptychs is very similar to the works made in Elbląg, among them being the retable of the Adoration of the Magi from the church dedicated to them. The drapery arrangements, facial types and modelling are all repeated in these pieces of art.[11] It is impossible to say whether the retables from the vicinity of Braniewo were made in Elbląg or in Braniewo by sculptors trained in Elbląg.

The final destination for works of art (and probably also artists) who travelled east was usually the capital of the Teutonic Knights' *Ordenstaat* and its surroundings, although there are some examples – albeit not so numerous – of pieces being exported from Gdańsk and Elbląg even further east to the old territories of Lithuania and even to Finland.[12]

Some written sources provide information about such artistic exports. A record from Königsberg relates that in 1504 or 1505, the local Guild of Merchants commissioned painter Steffen in Gdańsk to execute an effigy of St Anne, which was meant to be placed in a church in Königsberg's Old Town.[13] We do not know if this commission was accepted and completed; however, it seems that the artist to whom the request was addressed may have been the one responsible for several works from Gdańsk and one from Braniewo. These pieces offer an idea of what the contracting authorities expected and what their stylistic preferences were.

A starting point for the reconstruction of the painter Steffen's oeuvre is the St Barbara's retable that originally stood on an altar dedicated to this saint, made for the confraternity of Shoemakers' apprentices, and installed in St Mary's Church, Gdańsk.[14] This retable was made in around

Figure 10.1 St Barbara retable of confraternity of Shoemakers' apprentices (feast day opening) ca. 1500, Danzig, Our Lady's Church, photo: A. Woziński

1500. When fully opened, it presented a series of sculptures (Figure 10.1). St Barbara can be seen on the corpus of the retable. The figures on the wings are St John the Baptist, St James the Elder, St Hedwig and St Thomas of Canterbury. When the wings are shut, eight painted panels in two rows appear. They depict scenes from the life of St Barbara (Figure 10.2). The retable corpus is set on a predella with a painted scene of the Annunciation and four female saints. On the inner side of the side wall of the corpus, the following inscription is visible: "STEFEN VNOOR" (or VNGOR, or VNGUR), which could be regarded as the painter's signature. The same

Figure 10.2 St Barbara retable of confraternity of Shoemakers' apprentices (every day opening) ca. 1500, Danzig, Our Lady's Church, photo: A. Woziński

artist is thought to have painted the lost diptych of the Schinkel family (1501) from Our Lady's Church in Lübeck.[15] Many elements in both works are very similar indeed, but it should be stressed that there are differences in quality between these paintings. It seems that the Gdańsk paintings were executed by a slightly inferior artist who, nevertheless, must has been trained in Lübeck. His Lübeck provenance is also attested by the affinity of his works with those of two other prominent painters from this city: Bernt Notke and Hermen Rode. A peculiar way of framing a scene, whereby some motifs do not fully fit in the pictorial field, and figures "enter" from behind the field - for example, in a scene of the torture of St Barbara - is also noted in works from the circle of Bernt Notke, such as the retable of Sts Crispin and Crispinian (c. 1488–1493), probably from

St Peter's Church in Lübeck (now in the St Annen-Museum, Lübeck),[16] and in works by Hermen Rode, such as the retable of St Luke (1484) from St Catherine's Church, Lübeck (now also in the St. Annen-Museum).[17] In the latter, just like in its Gdańsk counterpart, the scenes are shown slightly from above. Moreover, the hilly landscape with winding roads and delicate trees with thin trunks painted on the reverse sides of the external wings of this work is similar to the one in Gdańsk in the scene of the Entombment of St Barbara.

To the artist Steffen, who is mentioned in written sources and is believed to have painted parts of St Barbara's retable, are also attributed two lost works: the Winterfelds' Diptych (c. 1500) from St Mary's Church in Gdańsk[18] and the retable of the Rosary Confraternity (1503) from the Church of St Catherine in Braniewo.[19] These attributions were made by scholars who had seen both works before their loss.[20] The same painter must have made the external wings featuring Constantine the Great and his mother Helena, and the predella with four male saints from the so-called Large Altar of the Ferber family in St Mary's Church, Gdańsk.[21] This is evidenced by similarities in the types of faces, costume details and forms of plants seen in these works.

The Königsberg Guild of Merchants' commission addressed to Gdańsk painter Steffen points to his high professional status in Prussia and may also indicate the founders' good overview of current artistic standards on the Baltic coast, which were, to a large extent, established by products of Lübeck workshops present in many places around the Baltic Sea.[22] Painter Steffen, who has been trained in this city, guaranteed works of high quality made in a similar manner.

The second archival record which possibly concerns artistic exchange in the field of sculpture between Gdańsk and Königsberg comes from 1520. Among the residents of Königsberg's Kneiphof district, a document mentions "Meister Pawel Schnitzer".[23] It cannot be ruled out that this information relates to Gdańsk sculptor Master Pawel (Paul). A sculptor of the same name, described as a master, is listed several times in the account book of the St Christoph's Confraternity from the Artus Court in Gdańsk. The document lists different works by this artist made in the 1530s and 1540s for the Artus Court interior.[24] Entries in the book of land taxes reveal that a "mester Pawl Syme" lived on Bredegasse Street in Gdańsk during 1511–1526.[25] These are perhaps references to our sculptor. His works in the Artus Court, confirmed by written sources, made it possible to attribute to him a range of works in Gdańsk, its vicinity and beyond.[26] Two sculptures from the Königsberg area possessed all the features of his style. One was a relief of the Holy Family (c. 1520) that graced a church in Friedland until 1944, but is now missing (Figure 10.3).[27] The second, a relief of St Martin which dates from the same time and comes from a church in Laptau, is now part of the collection of the Lithuanian National Museum of Art in Vilnius (Figure 10.4).[28] Both sculptures must have been made by the Gdańsk sculptor. Furthermore, until the end of World War Two, there were a number

Figure 10.3 Master Pawel, Saint Familly, ca. 1520 (lost), Friedland, parish church, photo after Walther Hubatsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens, Bd. II: Bilder ostpreussischer Kirchen bearbeitet von Iselin Gundermann, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968)

of sculptures in the churches of Auglitten, Sarkau and Schwalbental in the Königsberg area that according to scholars' analytical reports were similar to the sculpture from Friedland.[29] Unfortunately, we have been unable to find any photos of these sculptures.

It is also worth noting some sculptures from this vicinity, lost after 1944, which are unlikely to have been made by Master Pawel from Gdańsk or by his workshop, but shared certain characteristics with his works. The shrine of the lost triptych in the church of Medenau was

Figure 10.4 Master Pawel, Saint Martin, ca. 1520, Laptau, parish church (now: Vilnius, the Lithuanian National Museum of Art), photo: Vaidotas Aukštaitis

occupied by figures of the Virgin, St Anne and Jesus.[30] Some stylistic features, such as a bundle of radiating folds on St Anna's robe, her overly distended abdomen and the lanceolate shape of the mantle's edge below her left forearm, are very similar to the relief with the Visitation scene by Master Pawel from the retable from St Catherine's Church in Gdańsk.[31] Moreover, St Anne's spindle-shaped silhouette, her slightly bent head and the outwardly curved edges of her robes, spreading out at the base, resemble in general terms a figure of the Mother of Sorrow from St Mary's Church, Gdańsk.[32] As a side note, it is worth mentioning the paintings on the wings. When they were open, scenes from the life of the Virgin's parents and her youth appeared; when they were closed,

they revealed four male saints in ornate arcades decorated with vegetal motifs,[33] very similar to those used by Gdańsk artist Michel of Augsburg and his workshop.[34]

The reports of scholars who had seen the figure of the Virgin and Child (c. 1520) from the church in Juditten near Königsberg, before it went missing after 1944, stressed its very high quality.[35] It seems it was stylistically close to the sculptures of the retable from Medenau. Some elements of Master Pawel's style can be recognized in the sculpture from Juditten. A bundle of thin, parallel folds of the robe, the circular forms on the mantle's edges and little, oval-shaped hollows on the surface of the clothes resemble reliefs from St Catherine's Church in Gdańsk and Friedeland by Master Pawel.[36]

The works by this Gdańsk sculptor, or those bearing the hallmarks of his influence, found near Königsberg suggest that "Meister Pawel" from Gdańsk and "Meister Pawel Schnitzer" from the Kneiphof district of Königsberg could have been the same person. It is conceivable that our sculptor, after his stay in Gdańsk, moved for some time to the capital of the state of the Teutonic Order before returning to Gdańsk.

Some archival records mention the involvement of Gdańsk and Königsberg citizens in fairs organized in both cities. These entries include some information about goldsmiths and their works. In 1483, Gdańsk goldsmith Hans Joen was supposed to deliver commissioned products to the fair in Königsberg.[37] The next record from 1487 tells us about the dispute that had been ongoing since 1483 between a goldsmith from Kneiphof and his former master – Jorgen Gerdt from Gdańsk.[38] This information concerns goldsmiths, but we have to take into account that in Gdańsk goldsmiths were associated in the same guild as painters and glaziers.[39] Maybe the stylistic affinities of the next group of paintings and sculptures from Gdańsk and Königsberg could be explained by trade through the fairs organized in both centres, and also by their authors having trained in the same place or moved from one city to the other.

The figures in the Coronation of Mary scenes from the church in Kremitten (Figure 10.5)[40] in the Königsberg region and from St John the Baptist's Church in Malbork[41] and of God the Father (or of the Christ) from the cathedral in Königsberg[42] are characterized by very similar stylistic features. They must have been made around 1500–1510. They have much in common with Gdańsk sculpture of a slightly earlier period (c. 1480–1500). The male faces, arrangement of draperies and the manner of execution of such elements as hair and beards are very close to the figures of St James the Elder in the Artus Court (c. 1481) (Figure 10.6)[43] and in the church in Stargard Gdański (Preußisch Stargard) (c. 1480–1490),[44] and also to the Apostles from the triptych from the church in Hel (Hela) (c. 1480–1500).[45] The Virgin's face in Kremitten, in turn, was very reminiscent of the one seen in a sculpture of the Virgin and Child (c. 1480–1500) in the former Norbertine church in Żukowo (Zuckau).[46] It is difficult to determine whether the form of the Königsberg sculptures is attributable

Figure 10.5 Coronation of Mary, ca. 1500–1510 (lost), Kremitten, parish church, photo after Walther Hubatsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens, Bd. II: Bilder ostpreussischer Kirchen bearbeitet von Iselin Gundermann, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968)

to the adoption of Gdańsk sculptors' style or to the possible presence in Königsberg of a workshop that had previously operated in Gdańsk; that it should be the other way around seems less likely because the Gdańsk sculptures are more numerous and appear to be slightly older. The possibility of these works having been imported from Gdańsk should be taken into account as well.

Scholars have drawn attention to stylistic affinities between the painted parts of the Man of Sorrows retable from the Benedictine nunnery in the Löbenicht district of Königsberg[47] and the wings of the retable from Hel

Figure 10.6 St James the Elder, ca. 1481, Danzig, Arthus Court, photo Muzeum Historii Gdańska

(Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe), both dated to around 1500–1510.[48] The composition of the scenes, arrangement of robes and details are very similar. Gdańsk was indicated as their place of origin, although it cannot be excluded that they were made in Königsberg because in nearby Quednau there was a retable which has been attributed to the author of the triptych from Löbenicht.[49]

There has never been any written information about artistic exchange between Elbląg and Königsberg, but the works of art themselves prove it. In the vicinity of Königsberg – Kumahnen,[50] Kaimen[51] and Wehlau[52] – there were sculptures (c. 1510–1520, all now missing) maintained in the same style as numerous works from the churches of Elbląg, for example, the retable of the Malt Brewers' corporation (c. 1515) (Figure 10.7). All of these sculptures exhibit a characteristic relationship between the body

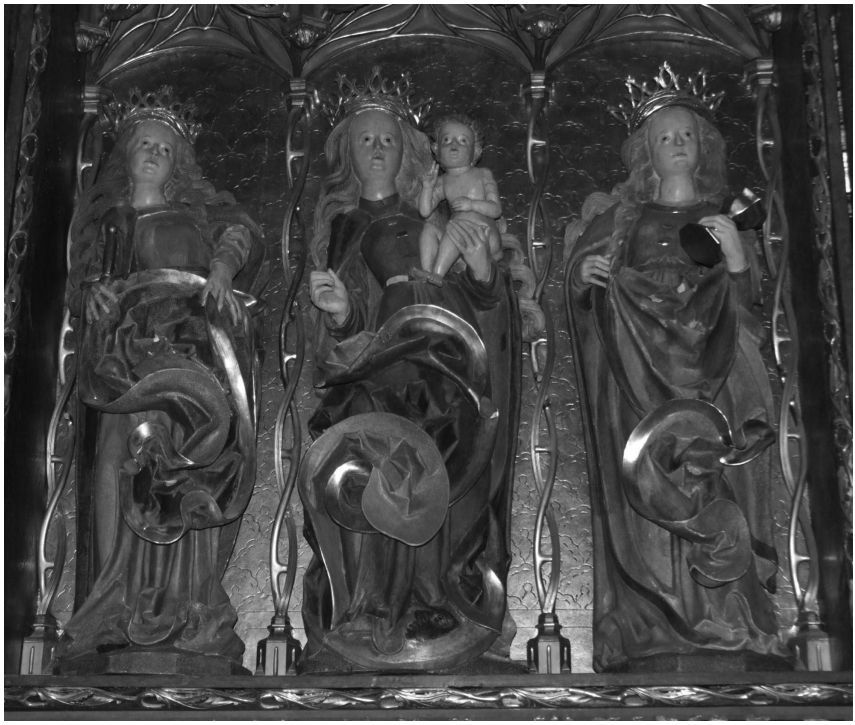

Figure 10.7 The shrein of the retable of the Corporations of the Malt Brewer, ca. 1515, Elbing, Our Lady's Church, photo: A. Woziński

and the robes – the figures are usually lifeless, with static poses and gestures. Their relative inertness is recompensed by the dynamic arrangement of their robes, which became the main vehicle of expression. The draperies swell in volute-like folds, attracting the eye of the beholder with their disorderly motion. It is not known whether these figures were imported from Elbląg or made by sculptors trained in this city but working in Königsberg.

Some links between Königsberg and Elbląg can be found also in the field of panel painting. Until 1944, in the choir of the cathedral of the capital of the Teutonic *Ordenstaat*, there was a full-length portrait of the Grand Master Friedrich von Sachsen, painted in around 1510 but now lost.[53] It showed the Grand Master standing frontally, in contrapposto, wearing armour; he was accompanied by the attributes of knighthood: a sword, shield, helmet and coats of arms. From his shoulders hung a long white mantle with a black cross – the distinctive attire of the Teutonic Order. The mantle fell in loose folds. On the left side, its edge created a wavy line; a flap at the bottom of the mantle was depicted in lance-shaped form. Very similar forms

Figure 10.8 Meeting at the Golden Gate, painting on the wing of St Anne retable, ca. 1500–1510, Guttstadt, the collegiate church, photo: A. Woziński

of drapery can be found in paintings on two Elbląg retables: one, dated to around 1500–1510, is in the collegiate church in Dobre Miasto (Guttstadt) (Figure 10.8),[54] and the other comes from the altar of the Corporation of Vistula Boatmen ("Weichselfahrer") or the Corporation of Sailors (c. 1515), from Our Lady's Church in Elbląg (now in St Nicolas' Church, Elbląg).[55] There is one more trait which connects the Königsberg portrait to Elbląg. The striking feature of the Grand Master's face is his slightly obliquely set eyes. The faces of Christ Salvator Mundi (missing) from the retable of the Brotherhood of Shoemaker Apprentices (1520) from Our Lady's Church in Elbląg (now in St Nicolas' Church, Elbląg)[56] and Christ Crucified from a beam in the same church (now in the church in Myszewo (Groß Mausdorf)[57] have the same feature.

A different kind of testimony of mutual contacts between Königsberg and Elbląg is provided by one of the scenes revealed by the second opening of the retable of the Malt Brewer Corporation from Our Lady's Church in Elbing.[58] It shows the Virgin and Child set in a rosary with the wounds

Figure 10.9 Virgin and Child in the Rosary and the social estates, the retable of the Corporations of the Malt Brewer, ca. 1515, Elbing, Our Lady's Church, photo: A. Woziński

of Christ; representatives of the clergy and knighthood kneel below her (Figure 10.9). The significance of the panel relates to the question of socio-political order. The references to the iconography of the three social estates are visible. Traditionally, this subject shows the three classes of medieval society – clergy, nobility and commoners – under the protection of Christ the Judge. This social order was considered primeval and inviolable.[59] The Elbing scene could be read as a declaration of the observance of this order, over which celestial beings keep guard. It seems probable that the kneeling man in burgher dress close to the knight in armour in the foreground is a representation of the founder. This closeness may have been an expression of the burgher's aspirations to be seen as nobility, which was a widespread phenomenon at the end of the medieval period. Behind these two

individuals is the kneeling figure of an old man in a white mantle with a black cross. This must be a Teutonic Knight. At the time when this retable was made, the Teutonic Knights had been gone from Elbląg for about a half of century. Social order, which was created by God, also embraced the Teutonic Knights. Their representative in this scene could conjure up both historical and contemporary references. He evoked the past, the heyday of the city, when it belonged to the domain of the Teutonic Order, and when the fraternity of the Malt Brewers (first mentioned in 1419) had been founded.[60] He underlines the founder's deep-rooted heritage and his lasting place in the history of the city. The Teutonic Knight in this scene hints at the political status quo of the day. It is conceivable that the *Schreinmadonna* (c. 1400), possibly from a Teutonic Order castle church (now in the Ostpreußisches Landesmuseum, Lüneburg),[61] which in around 1515 was set in the centre of the retable of the high altar in Our Lady's Church in Elbląg, may have inspired the iconographic programme and content of the panel under consideration. When the figure is opened, representatives of the clergy, nobility and maybe workers appear under Mary's mantle of protection. On her right-hand side, in the foreground, there are two kneeling Teutonic Knights – the most important political power in the city and Prussia at that time. Taking second place behind them we see a Pope and probably an emperor. In the 1520s, the theological message of the *Schreinmadonna* still prevailed, but not its political connotations. Only the panel in the Malt Brewer's retable features a hint to the existing political situation of the city at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Since the year of incorporation –1454 – Elbląg had belonged to the Kingdom of Poland; thus in the foreground, just below the Virgin, in the middle of the scene, we see a figure which is presumably the Polish king. On the king's right-hand side is a kneeling Pope, and replacing the Pope in the background is a Teutonic Knight. The reasons for his presence, as mentioned earlier, are not only historical. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Teutonic Knights still constituted an important part of the political order in Prussia; furthermore, Elbing was engaged in trade with the Teutonic *Ordenstaat* in Eastern Prussia; it is necessary to mention that the capital of the *Ordenstaat* financed the rebuilding of Our Lady's Church in Elbląg after a fire in 1504.[62]

We know almost nothing about artistic connections between Braniewo and Königsberg. Braniewo, as a sizable city belonging to the Hanseatic League, could have been a market for artworks produced in Königsberg. On the other hand, maybe some painters and sculptors were active there permanently. The sculptor Hans from Braniewo, mentioned among artists active in Königsberg during 1508–1510,[63] is the only trace of mutual contacts.

The above image of contacts between Königsberg and other Prussian cities located along the Baltic coast reveals the capital of the State of Teutonic Order as a place which primarily relied on the artistic potential of other

centres, such as Gdańsk and Elbląg. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether this image fully reflects historical reality.

Königsberg was a big, rich city of some 10,000 inhabitants. Various types of crafts and trade developed there successfully. Religious and social life flourished.[64] Cathedrals, parish, convent and hospital churches,[65] the Teutonic Order's castle, and secular buildings, such as town halls and Artus Courts,[66] required an appropriate artistic setting. Thus, conditions for the development of art in Königsberg were favourable. Written records about the décor of these places are scant, and only a few works from Königsberg itself are known.[67] In addition, we know of them only from photographs because nearly all were missing after 1944. Archival sources bear witness that several artists were active there, in some cases indicating their origin. The presence of a painter named Hans Nürnberger[68] was recorded during 1520–1521, while another painter, Wolfgang Rieder (known as Wolf), who came from Southern Germany was active at the court of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.[69] Thus, both painters came from a prominent artistic region. Moreover, during 1526–1528, the distinguished sculptor Hans Schenk (Scheuzlich, Scheusslich), originally from Saxony, was working at the Königsberg court.[70] It seems then that Königsberg could has been a more powerful artistic centre than the known works mentioned here indicate.

Notes

1 Jan von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunsverbreitung im Ostseeraum des Spätmittelalters* (Helsinki-Helsingfors: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1993); Jan von Bonsdorff, "Art Transfer in the Medieval Baltic Sea Area", in *Künstlerischer Austausch. Artistic Exchange.* Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin, 15.–20. Juli 1992, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Bd. II (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 39–47.

2 The main publications relating to the history of Prussia: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, ed. Gerard Labuda, part I: 1464/66–1648/57 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1976); Marian Biskup and Gerard Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka–Społeczeństwo–Państwo–Ideologia* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1986); Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden, Zwölf Kapitel seiner Geschichte* (München: Beck, 1989); Hartmut Boockmann, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas, Ostpreussen und Westpreussen* (Berlin: Siedler, 1992).

3 I have included some information about such exchanges, particularly in the field of sculpture, in my earlier papers: Andrzej Woziński, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana na Pomorzu Wschodnim* (PhD diss., University of Poznań 1996); Andrzej Woziński, "Late Gothic Sculptured Retables in the Area between Danzig (Gdańsk), Elbing (Elbląg), Königsberg and Thorn (Toruń) (1450–1530)", in *Malerei und Skulptur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Norddeutschland. Künstlerischer Austausch im Kulturraum zwischen Nordsee und Baltikum*, ed. Hartmut Krohm et al. (Berlin: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2004), 199–213; Andrzej Woziński, "Multiplicity and Unity. The Faces of Sculpture in

Prussia between ca. 1450 and 1530", in *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae* 1 (2005): 51–74; Andrzej Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", in *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach*, vol 2: *Eseje*, ed. Barbara Pospieszna (Malbork: Bernardinum, 2010), 195–212; Andrzej Woziński, "Dzieła Mistrza Pawła i jego warsztatu w Prusach krzyżackich", in *Studia zamkowe* 4 (2012): 261–274.

4 Henryk Samsonowicz, "Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy", in *Historia Gdańska*, ed. Edumund Cieślak, vol. 2: 1454–1655 (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1982), 98; Cezary Kardasz, "Economic relations between Gdańsk and Königsberg in the years 1466–1525", in *Zapiski Historyczne* 82.1 (2017): 37–54.

5 Andrzej Groth, "Handel", in *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 2, part 1 (1466–1626), ed. Andrzej Groth (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Marpress, 1996), 43, 53.

6 W. Wallerand, *Altarkunst des Deutschordensstaates Preussen unter Dürer Einfluss* (Danzig: A. W. Kafemann, 1940), 24–35, 41–43, 52–53; Jerzy Domasłowski, "Malarstwo tablicowe poza Gdańskiem w drugiej połowie XV i w początkach XVI wieku" in Jerzy Domasłowski, Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa and Adam S. Labuda, *Malarstwo gotyckie na Pomorzu Wschodnim* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1990), 161–164; Bogna Jakubowska, "Michel" in *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 3 (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1997), 205–207; Andrzej Woziński, "Michael (Michel) von Augsburg", in *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, ed. A. Beyer, B. Savoy und W. Tegethoff, Bd. 89 Mejchar–Minguzzi (Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter Saur, 2016), 311–312.

7 Andrzej Woziński, "Between Past and Present: Forms and Contents of Artistic Representation in Elbląg at the End of Middle Ages and the Beginning of the Early Modern Times", in *Die maritime Stadt – Hafenstädte an der Ostsee vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart / Miasto nad morzem – miasta portowe nad Bałtykiem od średniowiecza do współczesności*: Beiträge der 21. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker und Denkmalpfleger in Gdańsk 18–21 September 2013 / Materiały 21 Konferencji Grupy Roboczej Polskich i Niemieckich Historyków Sztuki i Konserwatorów Zabytków w Gdańsku 18–21 września 2013, vol. ed. Tomasz Torbus and Katarzyna Anna Wojtczak (Das Gemeinsame Kulturerbe = Wspólne Dziedzictwo series ed. Małgorzata Omilanowska, Bd. X/T. X) (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2017), 152; Andrzej Woziński, "Wspólnoty parafialne w Elblągu i Gdańsku i ich emanacja w sztuce schyłku średniowiecza", in *1050. rocznica chrztu Polski*, ed. Krzysztof Lewalski (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2017), 183.

8 Andrzej Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba monochromatyczna w Prusach", *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 11 (2012): 90, 92, fig. 22.

9 Adam S. Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Institut für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin: Epubli Dez, 2015), 61–62, fig. 54.

10 Małgorzata Kierkus-Prus, "Twórczość warsztatów rzeźbiarskich związanych z Elblągiem w pierwszej ćwierci XVI wieku", in *Rocznik Elbląski* 17 (2000): 50–51, fig. 4; Andrzej Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska w latach 1500–1525", *Rocznik Elbląski* 17 (2000): 69–71, 85–86, cat. 33–34, 37, fig. 4–6, 22.

11 Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 69.

12 Woziński, "Multiplicity and Unity": 73–74; Woziński, "Dzieła Mistrza Pawła", 269, fig. 10–12.

13 Walther Franz, "Das Königsberger Kunstgewerbe zur Ordenszeit", in *Altpreussische Forschungen* 17.1 (1940): 31; see also Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1 (Danzig: A. W. Kafemann,1913), 388.

14 Theodor Hirsch, *Die Oberpfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzig*, Bd. 1–2 (Danzig: Anhuth, 1843–1847), 463–464; Paul Abramowski, "Gotische Altäre der Danziger Marienkirche", in *Ostdeutsche Monatshefte* 8.5 (1927): 370–372; Werner Kussin, *Spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Danzig* (Erlangen: Buchdruckerei M. Krahl, Erlangen-Bruck,1937), 61–67; Willy Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschätze* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963), 130–131; Janina Kruszelnicka and Józef Flik, *Zbiory gotyckiej rzeźby i malarstwa Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu*. Katalog (Toruń: Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu, 1968), cat. 20; Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, *Malarstwo tablicowe.* Katalog zbiorów. Galeria Sztuki Średniowiecznej, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1972), cat. 52; Max Hasse, "Zu zwei Veröffentlichungen über Altartafeln Lübecker Maler aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts in Schleswig-Holstein und Danzig", in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 60 (1980): 209–210; Gerhart Eimer, *Bernt Notke. Das Wirken eines niederdeutschen Künstlers im Ostseeraum* (Köln: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 1985), 134–136, 172, 186, Kat. 22; Max Hasse, review: Gerhard Eimer, *Bernt Notke. Das Wirken eines niederdeutschen Künstlers im Ostseeraum*, Köln 1985, *Kunstchronik*, Jg. 39, Juni, H. 6 (1986): 213; Adam S. Labuda, "Malarstwo tablicowe na Pomorzu Wschodnim", in *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, ed. Adam S. Labuda and Krystyna Secomska (Warszawa: DiG, 2004), vol. 1: *Synteza*, 352, Vol. 2, *Katalog*, 172; Woziński, "Late Gothic Sculptured Retables", 199–202; Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 116–118, 150–151, Kat. 18; Andrzej Woziński, "Malarstwo i rzeźba w Gdańsku u progu epoki nowożytnej. Pomiędzy tradycją a nowoczesnością, między Północą a Południem", in *Gdańsk w okresie nowożytnym: kultura, religia, polityka, społeczeństwo i stosunki międzynarodowe*, ed. Wiesław Długokęcki andJürgen Sarnowsky . (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2021), 26–32.

15 Hasse, "Zu zwei Veröffentlichungen", 210; Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 150, attributed the paintings of the St Barbara retable to the Master of the Schinkel family retable and his workshop. For the archival photos of the Schinkel retable, see *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Holzskulptur und Tafelmalerei in Schleswig-Holstein*, Hrsg. von Uwe Albrecht, Bd. 2: *Hansestadt Lübeck. Die Werke im Stadtgebiet*, bearb. von Uwe Albrecht et al. (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2012), Cat. *22, 529–539.

16 Jochen Hermann Vennebusch, "Gemäldeflügel mit Szenen aus dem Leben der Hll. Crispin und Crispinian", in *Lübeck 1500. Kunstmetropole im Ostseeraum.* Katalog der Ausstellung. Museumsquartier St. Annen, Lübeck, Kirchen der Lübecker Innenstadt: Dom, St. Aegidien, St. Jakobi, St. Marien und dem Heiligen-Geist-Hospital, 20. September 2015 bis 10. Januar 2016, ed. Jan Friedrich Richter (Petersburg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), Kat. 13, 194–195.

17 Jan Friedrich Richter, "Lukasretabel des lübecker Maleramtes", in *Lübeck 1500*, Kat. 20, 212–215.

18 Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 57–61, Kat. 8, fig. 50–52.

19 Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 61–62, fig. 54.

20 Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 57–63, Kat. 8 (here review of previous literature).

21 Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 52, 62–63, Kat. 6, fig. 27, 31–33.

22 It is estimated that in the fifteenth century about 600 retables were sent from the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, mostly from Lübeck, to Finland and Estonia: Jan von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunsverbreitung*, 83; Jan von Bonsdorff,

Lübecker Kunst. Handelsware im Ostseeraum, in *Lübeck 1500*, 39. About 100 panel paintings of Lübeck provenance can be found today in Sweden and Norway: Miriam Hoffmann, *Studien zur Lübecker Tafelmalerei von 1450–1520* (*Bau + Kunst. Schleswig-Holsteinische Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Heiko K. L. Schulze (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2015), 43.

23 Franz, "Das Königsberger Kunstgewerbe", 34.

24 Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archives in Gdańsk], 359/416/1 No. 4, 9, 13–14, 24–25, 75–76. The documents are partially quoted in: Paul Abramowski, "Danziger Plastik von der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der Renaissance" (PhD diss., University of Leipzig 1926), 93, 99–100, note 2, and *in extenso* in: Wawrzyniec Kopczyński, "Mistrz Paweł. Rzeźbiarz gdański I-szej połowy XVI-go wieku" (MA diss., University of Poznań 1961), 42–47.

25 Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunsverbreitung*, 121, note 902; Archiwum Państwowe Gdańsk [State Archives in Gdańsk] 300, 12/666, 96, position 5.

26 Basic literature about Master Pawel (Paul): Paul Simson, *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Brüderschaften, die Banken* (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1900), 159–161, 170–172; Paul Abramowski, "Meister Paul, ein Danziger Bildhauer der Spätgotik", in *Schriften der Danziger Kunstforschende Gesellschaft* (1921): 42; Paul Abramowski, "Zur Schnitzplastik der Spätgotik und Renaissance im Danziger Artushof", in *Ostdeutsche Monatshefte* 7.6 (1926): 542–558; Abramowski, *Danziger Plastik*, 85–107; Max Hasse, "Die Stolper Kreuzgruppe des Meisters Paul von Danzig", *Westpreussen Jahrbuch* 3 (1953): 61–62; Liselote Behling, "Die Triumphkreuzgruppe der danziger Marienkirche von 1517, ein Werk Meister Pauls von Danzig", *Kunst* 1 (1948): 36–47; Kopczyński, *Mistrz Paweł*; Woziński, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana*, 113–151; Andrzej Woziński, "Michał z Augsburga, Mistrz Paweł i epilog gotyckiej rzeźby gdańskiej", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 27 (2002): 36–67; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 198, 208–210; Woziński, "Dzieła Mistrza Pawła", 261–274; Andrzej Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba monochromatyczna": 83–93; Andrzej Woziński, "Paul (Paweł)", in *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, ed. Andreas Beyer, Bénédice Savoy and Wolf Tegethoff, Bd. 94 Ostrogović-Pellegrina (Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter Saur, 2017), 437–438.

27 Woziński, "Michał z Augsburga, Mistrz Paweł", 50, fig. 67; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba monochromatyczna", 93, fig. 23.

28 Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba monochromatyczna", 87–89, fig. 16–18; Woziński, "Dzieła Mistrza Pawła", 266–269, fig. 5–9.

29 Georg Dehio and Ernst Gall, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Deutschordensland Preussen*. Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von Bernhard Schmid und Grete Tiemann (München: Dt. Kunstverl., 1952), 441–442, 466.

30 Wallerand, *Altarkunst des Deutschordensstaates,* 43–46, Abb. 23; Kopczyński, *Mistrz Paweł*, 25; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 208, fig. 8.

31 Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba monochromatyczna", fig. 9.

32 Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig*, Taf. 51.

33 Wallerand, *Altarkunst des Deutschordensstaates*, 45–46, Abb. 27.

34 Wallerand, *Altarkunst des Deutschordensstaates*, Abb. 5–7, 9–10.

35 The exquisite qualities of this sculpture were stressed particularly by Bernhad Schmid, "Baukunst und bildende Kunst zur Ordenszeit", in *Deutsche Staatenbildung und deutsche Kultur im Preussenlande* (Königsberg: Gräfe & Unzer, 1931), 148 and Georg Dehio and Ernst Gall, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 394.

36 Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 208, fig. 9.
37 Kardasz, "Economic relations", 50.
38 Kardasz, "Economic relations", 51.
39 Maria Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), 155; see also Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 15, 25.
40 Kamila Wróblewska, "Późnogotycka snycerka warsztatów królewieckich w Prusach", in *Sztuka Prus XIII–XVIII wieku* (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1994), 152–154, fig. 3; Woziński, "Late Gothic Sculptured Retables", 210, fig. 10; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 202, fig. 4.
41 Woziński, "Late Gothic Sculptured Retables", 210; Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, "Kwatera ołtarza ze sceną Koronacji NMP'", in *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach*, vol 1: Katalog wystawy, ed. Barbara Pospieszna (Malbork: Bernardinum, 2010), Cat. II.5.13, 190–191; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 202.
42 Wróblewska, "Późnogotycka snycerka", 154; Woziński, "Late Gothic Sculptured Retables", 210, fig. 11; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 202.
43 Andrzej Woziński, "Bildhauerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Danziger Kunst vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Teresa Grzybkowska (n.p.: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza Arkadiusz Grzegorczyk, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, n.d. [2004]), 127–129; Rafał Jasko, "Figura w. Jakuba Starszego z Dworu Artusa w Gdańsku, k. XV w.", in *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach*, vol 1: Katalog wystawy, ed. Barbara Pospieszna (Malbork: Bernardinum, 2010), Cat. III.7.19, 277.
44 Woziński, "Bildhauerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", 127–129; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 202.
45 Woziński, "Bildhauerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", 127–129; Święci orędownicy. Rzeźba gotycka na zamku w Malborku. Katalog wystawy, ed. Monika Czapska (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2013), 235–239, Cat. 22–24.
46 Woziński, "Bildhauerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", 127–129; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 202, fig. 4.
47 Adam S. Labuda, "Dzieła tworzone w Gdańsku w drugiej połowie XV i w początkach XVI wieku", in Jerzy Domasłowski, Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa and Adam S. Labuda, *Malarstwo gotyckie na Pomorzu Wschodnim* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1990), 152; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 195, 200, fig. 1a–f; Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 124, 154–155, Abb. 171.
48 Labuda, "Dzieła tworzone w Gdańsku", 152, fig 80; Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 122–124; Kat. 22, Abb. 162–167.
49 Labuda, *Die Tafelmalerei in Danzig*, 124.
50 Kierkus-Prus, "Twórczość warsztatów rzeźbiarskich", 56, fig. 8; Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 71–72, Cat. 22, fig. 8; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 210, fig. 12.
51 Kierkus-Prus, "Twórczość warsztatów rzeźbiarskich", 49–50, fig. 23; Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 86, Cat. 19, fig. 23.; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 210.
52 Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 84–85, Cat. 39, fig. 21.; Woziński, "Późnogotycka rzeźba w państwie zakonnym", 210.
53 Eduard Anderson, "Das Bildnis des Hochmeisters Friedrich III., Herzog von Sachsen, im Dom zu Königsberg", in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreußen* 15 (1940/41): 56–59; Domasłowski, "Malarstwo tablicowe poza Gdańskiem", 175.

54 Domasłowski, "Malarstwo tablicowe poza Gdańskiem", 167–168; Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 73–74, Cat. 2, fig. 10; Andrzej Woziński, "Programy obrazowe późnogotyckich retabulów w Prusach. O powtarzających się tematach, chronologii scen, obecności fundatora w dziele i archaizmach ikonograficznych", in *Claritas et Consonantia. Funkcje, formy i znaczenia w sztuce średniowiecza*. Księga poświęcona pamięci Kingi Szczepkowskiej-Naliwajek w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci, ed. Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska and Juliusz Raczkowski (Toruń-Warszawa: Wydział Sztuk Pięknych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, Zarząd Główny Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 2017), 545, fig. 7.

55 Domasłowski, "Malarstwo tablicowe poza Gdańskiem", 161–163; Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 77–78; Cat. 7; Woziński, "Between past and present", 158–159. See photos of all painted panels of that retable on the cover of *Historia Elbląga*.

56 Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 83, Cat. 12, fig. 14.

57 Woziński, "Rzeźba elbląska", 81, Cat. 11, fig. 15.

58 Woziński, "Between past and present", 155–163, pic. 3; Alicja Grabowska-Lysenko, "Późnogotyckie retabula elbląskie a życie religijne w mieście u schyłku średniowiecza – uwagi o wartości źródłowej zachowanych dzieł sztuki", in *Claritas et Consonantia. Funkcje, formy i znaczenia w sztuce średniowiecza*. Księga poświęcona pamięci Kingi Szczepkowskiej-Naliwajek w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci, ed. Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska and Juliusz Raczkowski (Toruń–Warszawa: Wydział Sztuk Pieknych Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, Zarząd Główny Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 2017), 593, 596; Woziński, "Programy obrazowe późnogotyckich", 548–551.

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61 Karl Heinz Clasen, *Mittelalterliche Bildhauerkunst im Deutschordensland Preußen. Die Bildwerke bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1939), 120; Gudrun Radler, "Der Beitrag des Deutschordenslandes zur Entwicklung der Schreinmadonna (1390–1420)", in *Sztuka w kręgu Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach i Inflantach*, ed. Michał Woźniak ("Studia Borussico-Baltica Torunensia Historiae Artium" 2) (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), 263–268; Hendrik Budde, "Otwierana figura Marii (tzw. Madonna szafkowa) z Elbląga", in *Obok. Polska–Niemcy. 1000 lat historii w sztuce*. Katalog wystawy: Berlin – Martin-Gropius-Bau, 21 IX 2011–9 I 2012, ed. Małgorzata Omilanowska, with Tomasz Torbus (Berlin: Dumont, 2011), 125, Cat. 3.17.

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68 Franz, "Das Königsberger Kunstgewerbe", 32.
69 Franz, "Das Königsberger Kunstgewerbe", 32.
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11 Distant enemies, yet allies in art? Remarks on supposed artistic relations between fourteenth-century Prussia and the Islamic and Byzantine cultures in the Middle East

Tomasz Torbus

Let us start by pointing out that this topic has made many researchers over the decades feel rather helpless. Already 50 years ago, the Austrian researcher Wolfgang Müller-Wiener considered Crusader architecture to be "a mismatch composed of a multiplicity of regional styles, unidentified external influences, numerous techniques, which it is almost impossible to disentangle into definable components".[1] Today, too, research into cultural contacts between the so-called East and the so-called West in the Crusader period is rather vague. These two concepts have been degraded, if not to a battle cry, then to at least some kind of an empty and generalizing cliché. There existed neither a monolithic West (since Crusaders acted differently than Franks who had lived in Palestine for generations) nor a single Orient, which was, in fact, composed of several entities with Islamic followers of varied traditions (the Caliphate, the Fatimids and series of local dynasties), and additionally there were other peoples (Jews, Orthodox Greeks, and Armenians) who contributed to the mix with their respective cultures.

It is, therefore, worth asking to what degree heterogeneous Oriental architecture influenced Western European architecture. One thing remains unquestionable, namely the abundance of contacts or so-called cultural transfers,[2] as well as the enormous technological advancement that occurred in the age of the Crusades, which Sir Steven Runciman called "a tragic and destructive episode […] in the long sequence of interaction and fusion between Orient and Occident out of which our civilization has grown".[3] As far as architecture is concerned, certain solutions undoubtedly emerged in the Middle East, and then subsequently fuelled the development of military technology of the Middle Ages.

Let us look at some examples. Machicolations and hoardings were present already in the architecture of the Umayyads, and afterwards became widespread in Islamic architecture (Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi,[4] Damascus). The Crusaders adopted this feature in the twelfth century, initially as a defensive device over a gate, as is the case at the sea castle of Sidon in Lebanon.[5]

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Another technical innovation imported by the Crusaders from the Byzantine civilisation through the Ayyubids is found at Ajloun Castle in Jordan in the form of embrasures in curtain walls.[6] Even though this is being questioned in some works, various types of gate fortifications, such as rondelles and barbicans, which Islamic countries specialized in, also subsequently inspired new trends in European defensive architecture.[7] A good example is the Aleppo citadel, dating to before 1210.[8] It was this type of gatehouse that served as a blueprint for barbicans in Southern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (one example being Carcassone).[9] Another feature borrowed from its Arab inventors is the so-called *Talus*, a sloping face at the base of a wall, meant to prevent the enemy from digging under the wall, a common tactic used in this part of the world during castle sieges. Christian castles adopted the *Tali*, applying it in monumental form, for instance, at Crac de Chevaliers (Figure 11.1). European states eagerly employed this technology along the confrontation line with Islamic civilization, for example in Spain (Medina del Campo) or historical Poland (Kamieniec Podolski, now Kamianets-Podilskyi in Ukraine).

Figure 11.1 Crac de Chevaliers, Syria, Talus of the Inner Castle (Tomasz Torbus 2008)

In terms of architectural decoration, further research should include a greater focus on patrons of art and architecture, the situation of stonemasons' workshops, and stonemasons themselves. It is not enough to merely point out the similarities in motifs and aesthetics, though given the lack of written sources on buildings, it is difficult to make anything other than such general observations. We can, thus, only speculate on the fondness for two-dimensional, often geometrized wall ornaments inspired by Islamic art as well as the arch forms and vaults adopted by Western European architecture. This seems pretty obvious in the case of Spain and the "horror vacui" of the local *mudéjar* style (La Seo in Zaragoza, etc) and in the so-called Norman–Arab–Byzantine style from 1061 to around 1250 in Sicily (Monreale, Cefalu, Cuba, and Zisa in Palermo[10]).

It is more challenging to interpret the isolated group of Rhineland churches around Worms, featuring (possibly as a symbol of victory in the First Crusade) forms derived from Egypt's Fatimid architecture (St Paul's Church in Worms; churches in Dittelsheim, Guntersblum, and Alsheim).[11] Equally challenging is the issue of the diamond motif, which was widely used on pottery and textiles throughout Europe after the 1300s.

These examples show the extent of the phenomenon and the difficulties in its interpretation. Let us, therefore, first examine the question of these mutual relations on a smaller scale by looking at the alleged contacts between the Prussia of the Teutonic Knights and the Crusader states.

As is widely known, the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem – the Teutonic or German Order for short – was established in 1190 during the Third Crusade. It became the third military order in the Crusader states after the Order of St John and the Templars. The main stronghold of the Teutonic Order was Montfort Castle, in what is now Northern Israel.[12] The plan of the castle was recreated based on the results of excavations carried out in the 1920s and commissioned by the New York Metropolitan Museum. Interestingly enough, these findings did not seem to provide any confirmation of the hypothesis put forward by some German scholars who saw links between the architecture of this fortress and castles in Prussia.[13] It was in Prussia that a theocratic unitary state was founded after 1230 along the southern coast of the Baltic, with power concentrated in the hands of a few hundred brethren residing in about one hundred castles.

When trying to explore the complex question of connections between the Crusader states and Prussia at that time, we additionally have to contend with what could colloquially be called a historiographic muddle created by scientists representing different academic trends of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The architectural legacy of the Teutonic Knights, mostly the unique architecture of their castles, was the focus of German scholars from the mid-nineteenth century, whereas after 1945 Polish art historians and archaeologists took over the study of this topic. From the very beginning, the idea of hypothetical associations between the architecture of Teutonic Prussia and that of the Middle East was present in this historiography. It

was a concept supported by, among others, the first Prussian art conservator, Ferdinand von Quast,[14] as well as Friedrich Beckers,[15] and Malbork's nineteenth-century restorer, Conrad Steinbrecht, who characterized letter friezes as an "adoption of the Muslim building tradition".[16] Also Karl-Heinz Clasen, a prominent art historian of the interwar period, observed in the castles' brick decoration some vaguely defined "Syrian models".[17] The tradition of trying to detect Oriental roots in Teutonic art persisted after the Second World War and even began to hold sway with Polish scholars, as seen, for example, in the works of Teresa Mroczko and Kazimierz Pospieszny.[18]

Possibly the most bizarre example of diffusion theories is to be found in the writings of Nils von Holst, who in the 1980s attempted to pinpoint links between Spain and Prussia.[19] He suggested that a certain regular Teutonic castle type was modelled on Toledo's Alcázar, the design having been introduced by "a numerous group of Muslim stonemasons" who are said to have come to Prussia.[20] He ignores the fact that the role of the Teutonic Knights in the *Reconquista*[21] was but episodic and that in Spain they only possessed two modest castles in the Kingdom of Leon (Mota del Marquez and Tiedra; Figure 11.2). Overall, it seems that by seeking out the most exotic associations, the author was trying to hide his earlier extreme nationalistic views of the Nazi era.

Let us now try to separate verifiable facts from all the aforementioned pseudo-academic mythology. According to the currently available literature, there are three things that point to the hypothetical connections

Figure 11.2 Tiedra, prov. Valladolid, Spain, Castle of the Teutonic Knights (Tomasz Torbus 1997)

between Prussia and the countries of the Orient. Firstly, the regular square plan of a Teutonic castle-monastery was introduced in Palestine or Southern Italy; secondly, some specific architectural features from the Middle East were transposed to Prussia, for example, the latrine tower known as a *dansk*; and finally, some motifs and wall decoration techniques using glazed or clinker bricks most probably also originated in the Middle East.

Each case has to be examined separately. The most disputed issue among scholars for over 150 years has been the question of the origin of the *castrum*-type castle with a regular rectangular or square plan featuring four wings around an arcaded courtyard. In Prussia, it became mandatory at the end of the thirteenth century. There have been attempts to trace its origins to a certain region or some category of buildings.[22] In my opinion, all of these theories are one-sided. The Prussian regular castle does not have one source, but it originates from a combination of three main factors of relevance. The first factor is the influence of monastic architecture: no doubt Cistercian abbeys like Lehnin or Kołbacz (Kolbatz) influenced the earliest castles of the Teutonic Knights in terms of decoration. It is, therefore, tempting to assume that Cistercian architecture also had an impact on the origins of the regular ground-plan used for Teutonic castles. The second factor which may have played a role in the formation of the *castrum*-type fortress is its political iconography. It was not the *castrum*-type proper that distinguished the Order's castles, but the exclusiveness of its use. It was unique that all the commandery castles built from the early fourteenth century onwards were erected as quadrangular structures. These centres of power of respective administrative districts, concentrating political, religious, juridical, and economic power, became a symbol of the power of the sovereign.

And now for the last point, our main focus – the derivation of the castle plan from a specific country. Georg Dehio looked towards Apulia, von Holst to Spain, Beckers to the Crusader states, Erich Lindemann to Thuringia, Tomáš Durdik to Bohemia.[23] However, it is hard to point to one region as its source, as the ancient tradition of the quadrangular *castrum* never completely faded into oblivion. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was revived in France, Southern Italy, Wales, and Bohemia.[24] As it was a commonly known design, it is impossible to track down the 'invention' of the *castrum*-type castle. If we really want to look for inspiration, there were historical ties between the castles of the Přemyslids from the end of the thirteenth century in Bohemia and the Order State, as illustrated, for example, by the crusade of Ottokar II to Prussia and the foundation of Königsberg (today Kaliningrad in Russia). We are more likely to find the prototypes there than in the castles of Emperor Frederick II in Apulia and Sicily (Castello Ursino in Catania, Castello Maniace in Syracuse). Even if there is some visual resemblance between Prussia fortresses and certain Crusader castles – for example between Radzyń Chełmiński (Figure 11.3) and Belvoir[25] (Figure 11.4) or Byblos (Gibelet) – of the concentric type, they do not seem to be the main point of reference.

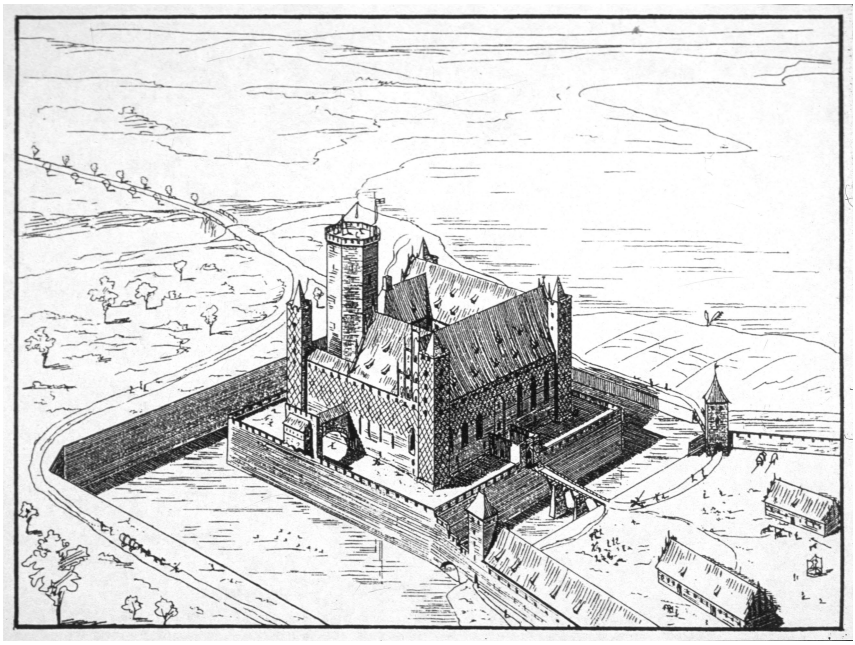
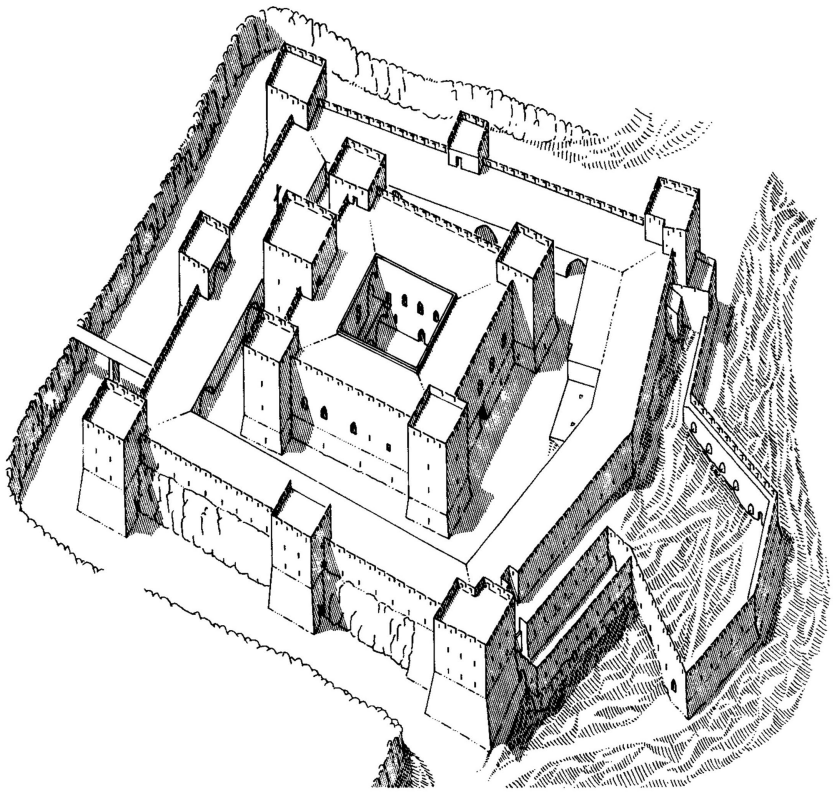


Figure 11.3 Radzyń Chełmiński, Northern Poland, Model of the Castle of the Teutonic Knights (Conrad Steinbrecht 1888) EX: Steinbrecht, Conrad. Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen, vol. 2: Preußen zur Zeit der Landmeister. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1888

The second main point is the adoption of particular castle features from the Orient, such as the *dansker.* Beyond the outer ward, a covered passage supported on a series of arches led to a latrine tower known as a *dansk* or *dansker.*[26] In Prussia it took a unique, monumental form that is hard to interpret. In the event of a siege, it could also be used as a defensive tower. Such *danskers* were built in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the biggest of all being the one in Kwidzyn (Marienwerder; Figure 11.5) – at the seat of the Pomeranian chapter. For the last 150 years, scholars have tried to trace the origins of *danskers.* Attempts have been made to explain their excessive size with a 'hygienic obsession' derived from the crusades, or with the enclosure mentality of the knight-monks. During research conducted 15 years ago at Crac des Chevaliers, Thomas Biller and his team discovered that the north tower interpreted by Paul Deschamps as a defensive one had actually served as a toilet, while the machicolations turned out to be a row of toilet bays (Figure 11.6).[27] Without further research on dating, we can only end with the question: Was it here that the idea of those giant Prussian designs was born?

Another manifestation of the Orient's enigmatic influence on Teutonic architecture has been perceived in the appearance of glazed bricks. These



6. Belvoir, isometrischer Rekonstruktionsversuch des Zustandes um 1175, 1:1600.

Figure 11.4 Belvoir, Israel, Outline of the Crusader Castle (by Paweł Moszczyński after Thomas Biller) EX: Biller, Thomas. "Die Johanniterburg Belvoir am Jordan. Zum frühen Burgenbau der Ritterorden im Heiligen Land", Architectura. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst 19 (1989): 105–136. [permited granted]

were first used in the form of single bricks coated with black glaze, and later also with green, yellow, or brown glaze, inserted into walls for decorative purposes, a good example being the early phase of Malbork castle, dating from the 1280s (Figure 11.7).[28] A variant of this decoration are letter friezes forming religious or moral adages paying tribute to the founder of a building, or justifying its foundation. A link between this type of decoration and the Teutonic Order's patronage is attested in the first half of the fourteenth century – it can be found in castles like Elbląg (Elbing), Malbork (Marienburg), Lochstedt, Ushakovo (Brandenburg) and sometimes in churches with a proven association with the Teutonic Knights, such as the one at Piaseczno near Gniew (Pehsken) or St. James' Church in Toruń (Figure 11.8). Ever since von Quast first aired his theory, the genesis of

Figure 11.5 Kwidzyn, Northern Poland, Castle of the Pomesanian Cathedral Chapter with 'Dansker' 5a (Paweł Wojtyczka 2010) EX: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zamek_w_Kwidzynie,_P_Wojtyczka.jpg (Wikimedia, open access)

glazed brick decoration has been seen in a widely-understood Byzantine and Islamic Orient.[29]

A short note may be further made on the use of black-fired bricks in castles, to clearly distinguish them from glazed bricks. Black-fired bricks are produced by reducing oxygen during the firing process. Bricks of this sort were first used in the north wall of Marienburg Castle after 1280 and later in the southern façade of Gniew Castle, which seems to have served as a kind of test area for trying out different brickwork patterns. In the end, the diamond pattern prevailed. The perfection of this two-dimensional decoration, based on a black-and-red contrast, was achieved in the southern façade of the castle at Radzyń Chełmiński (Rehden) or Świecie (Schwetz; Figure 11.9). This idea to design a pattern using waste material left over from firing, and to incorporate it into a wall, is a genuine invention of the Teutonic Order State.

The glazing technique undoubtedly reached Prussia via Denmark or Northern Germany, where it had arrived from Northern Italy. Already at the end of the twelfth century there are examples of it in Lubeck Cathedral – obviously earlier than in Prussia. Can the theory that glazing bricks was an idea that came from the Orient be, therefore, completely rejected?

Not quite: the Prussian buildings are of a much more monumental character, and the Prussian colour range seems richer than that of Mecklenburg and Lubeck. More importantly, where friezes with inscriptions are found outside of Prussia, for example in St Canute's Cathedral in Odense

Figure 11.6 Crac de Chevaliers, Syria, Northern Tower of the Inner Castle (Tomasz Torbus 2008)

(1286–1300) or in Ratzeburg Cathedral, the impetus behind their use seems to have originated in Prussia, not vice versa. In Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid architecture, inscriptions are widely used on building façades. Glazed brick decoration or friezes with inscriptions covers such monuments as Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock, Gate of the Citadel in Aleppo (Figure 11.10), mausolea in Cairo's City of the Dead, and Seljuq madrasas in Konya; rich decorations also adorn thirteenth-century Byzantine palaces like Palace of the Porphyrogenitus in Constantinople (today Tekfur Sarayı in Istambul).[30] It is easy to assume that they would have attracted the attention of western Christians, and therefore might have encouraged imitation. It is a well-known fact that a broad spectrum of cultural interchange occurs between antagonistic cultures, fighting against each other, as illustrated by the Poles and the Ottomans in the seventeenth century.

This assumption, however, does not explain how glazed bricks came to be used in Prussia. One possibility was that the Teutonic brethren, several dozen of whom were active in both Prussia and Palestine, as ascertained by Kurt Forstreuter, shared information about what they had seen with architects, stonemasons, and brick-makers who quite certainly had nothing to

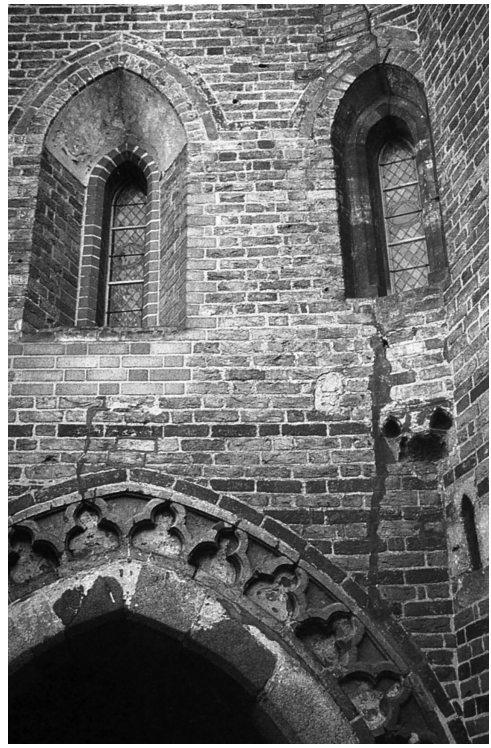


Figure 11.7 Malbork, Northern Poland, the so-called High Castle, Entrance gate, Detail with glazed brick decorations (Tomasz Torbus 1996)

Figure 11.8 Toruń, Northern Poland, St. James Church in the New Town, Detail of the portal with the inscription frieze (Tomasz Torbus 1995)

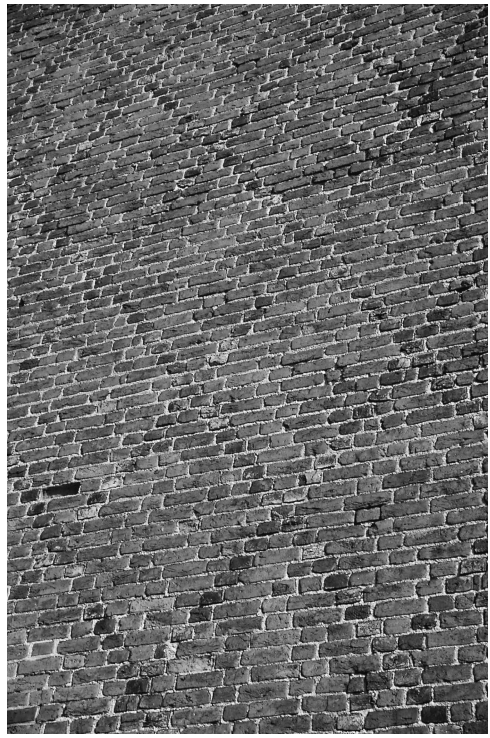


Figure 11.9 Świecie, Northern Poland, Castle façade, Pattern of the black-fired bricks (Tomasz Torbus 1996)

do with the Middle East.[31] At this point, however, we are tackling a broader issue that goes beyond the remit of this paper on the general influence of the Teutonic Order on the architecture they were patrons of. Despite extensive research, our knowledge still leaves much to be desired: as much as we have confirmed that this influence existed, its scale and intensity remain rather unclear. All of the Islamic or Byzantine buildings mentioned herein were in territory occupied by the Crusaders, who must therefore have become acquainted with these structures. The Crusaders also came across this architecture in the cities which they plundered, such as Constantinople, or where they were held captive (we know, for example, that in *c.* 1290 several prisoners who had spent decades in Muslim custody were released in Cairo).

To conclude: theories about the Oriental origins of all the above mentioned techniques and architectural features were not much more than romantic hypotheses, perpetuated for over a century. They lack historical evidence which could explain such a transfer, as the technique for producing black-fired bricks seems to have not been used in Palestine, Spain, or Apulia, and there are also technological differences between Byzantine or

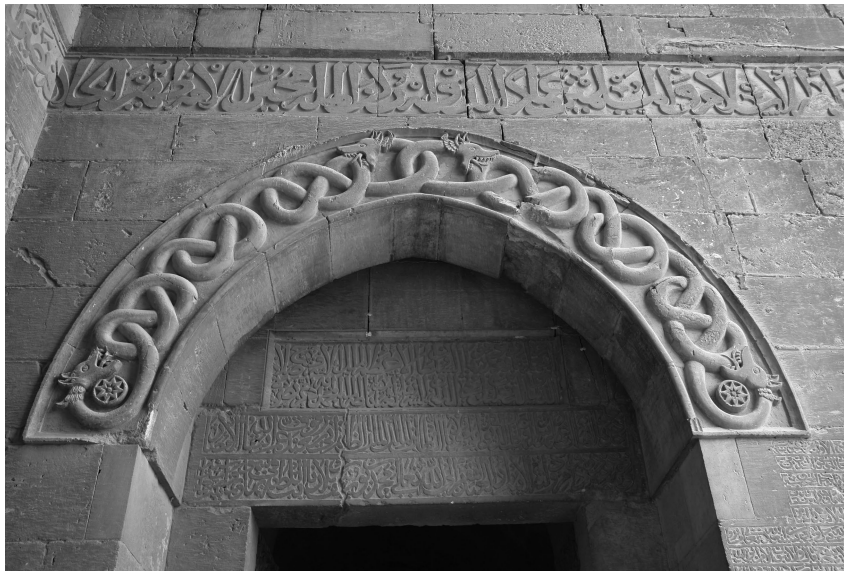


Figure 11.10 Aleppo, Syria, Entrance gate to the Citadel, Frieze with inscription (Mathias Piana 2008) EX: Mathias Piana (ed.), Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit. Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2008. [permited granted]

Islamic and Prussian glazes. All the other claims are but pure speculation. Instead, buildings in Northern Germany and Denmark should be regarded as the direct prototypes for Prussian glazed decorations.

On the other hand, it is through Northern Italian Romanesque architecture that this building tradition is remotely rooted in Byzantium, the Islamic World and, ultimately, the Ancient one. So the whole problem has to be seen in a wider perspective, as part of East-West relations in the Middle Ages, including such aspects as connections of art between Italy and Constantinople, the contacts between Islamic and Christian states in Spain, and the links between the two cultures via Armenian artists and traders – all this has to be examined in more detail. Last but not least, part of the problem is the supposed cultural transfer between Prussia and the so-called Orient. Even if it is mostly a kind of historiographical legend, the aura of such contacts boosts its attractiveness and encourages further research. I myself have succumbed to this aura: from being a staunch opponent of this theory, I have turned maybe not so much into its advocate, but at least into someone who has stopped completely dismissing such hypotheses. I might now be inclined to accept the possibility of cultural transfers demonstrated by some atypical architectural features in Prussia: monumental *danskers*, inscriptions on the external walls of castles and churches, which may have been partly inspired by the Middle East. I am, therefore, hoping to expand my research on the topic.

Notes

1 "Im Vergleich zur gleichzeitigen europäischen Architektur herrscht also in der Baukunst des Heiligen Landes ein schwer begreifbares Durcheinander einzelner Regionalstile, verschiedenartigster Einflüsse und Techniken, das sich angesichts der historischen Gesamtsituation kaum sicher entwirren lässt": Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, "Wechselwirkungen zwischen abendländischer und morgenländischer Architektur: Die Kreuzfahrer", in Baugeschichte und europäische Kultur, (vols. 1–2; Forschung und Information, Schriftenreihe der RIAS–Funkuniversität, 37, ed. Ruprecht Kurzrock), vol. 1, 146–156, here p. 152.

2 Generally on this topic, see: Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001); John M. Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004); Claude Lebedel, *Les Croisades, origines et conséquences* (Rennes: Editions Ouest-France, 2006); Bernard Lewis, *Les Arabes dans l'histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993); Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

3 Steven Runciman. *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1–3. Cambridge: University Press, 1951–1954, here vol. 3, 480. I am fully aware, as Matias Piana pointed out to me (whom I would like to thank for reading the manuscript and providing valuable comments), that the ideas of both Wolfgang Müller-Wiener and Steven Runciman are regarded in recent research as highly controversial.

4 Mathias Piana, "Wehrelemente an Befestigungen der Kreuzzugszeit und ihr potentieller Einfluss auf den europäischen Wehrbau", in Joachim Zeune (ed.), '*Dem Feind zum Trutz'. Wehrelemente an mittelalterlichen Burgen, Kolloquium des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung, Goslar 2013*, ed. Joachim Zeune (Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung e.V., Reihe B: Schriften, 14), 51–68 (Braubach: Deutsche Burgenvereinigung e.V. 2015). Oleg Grabar challenged this concept in "Three Seasons of Excavations at Qasr al-Hayr Sharqi", *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 65–68; https://lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/research/past-field-projects/qasr-al-hayr-syria.html.

5 Daniel Burger, "Burgen der Kreuzfahrer", in *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig.* Catalogue of exhibition held at Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Mainz (2 Apr–30 Jul 2004), ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), 114–135; Haroutune Kalayan, "The Sea Castle of Sidon", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 26 (1973), 81–89; Mathias Piana, "Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Sidon (Sagette, Ṣaidā)", in Mathias Piana (ed.), *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit* (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2008), 367–383.

6 Hartmut Hofrichter, "Einflüsse von Kreuzfahrerburgen auf den europäischen Burgenbau", in *Burgen in Mitteleuropa. Ein Handbuch*, ed. Horst Wolfgang Böhme et al., vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), 104–108, here p. 108.

7 Mathias Piana, "Begriffe erkunden: Barbakane", in *Burgen und Schlösser* 61.3 (2020), 180–183.

8 Ross Burns, *Monuments of Syria* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 32–35.

9 But these were not the prototypes of the late medieval Central-European barbicans like the one in Cracow, which was structurally adapted in response to the emergence of canons and guns: see the chapter on barbicans in John R Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications* (Leicester–London, 1990), 78–82; Janusz Bogdanowski, "Barbakan krakowski jako 'dzieło kluczowe' miasta", *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury* 9 (1974), 5–24; Maria Borowiejska-Birkenmajerowa, *Barbakan krakowski* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1979); Tomasz Torbus, Das Krakauer 'Rondell' als Paradebeispiel der spätmittelalterlichen Barbakane sowie

seine polnischen Nachfolgebauten", in *Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern*, vol. 11: *Burg und Stadt* (Berlin–München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008), 129–146.

10 Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jamila Binous, *L'Art arabo-normand: la culture islamique dans la Sicile médiévale* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 2004); Vittorio Noto, *Palazzi e giardini dei Re normanni di Sicilia* (Palermo: Kalós, 2017); Vittorio Noto, *Architectures du Moyen Âge entre la Sicile et la Normandie* (Palermo: Pietro Vittorietti Edizioni, 2012).

11 Hans-Jürgen Kotzur, "Denkmäler des Triumphs", in *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig.* Catalogue of exhibition held at Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Mainz (2 Apr–30 Jul 2004), ed. Brigitte Klein et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), 264–285.

12 Bashford Dean, "Montfort. A Crusader's Fortress in Palestine. A Report of Explorations made by the Museum 1926", *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 22.II (1927), 5–46.

13 Walther Hubatsch, "Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse* 5.1 (1966), 161–199.

14 Ferdinand von Quast, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Baukunst in Preussen", *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter* 9 (1850), 1–31; 11 (1851), 1–74, 115–145, 180–223; 12 (1852), 71–72.

15 Friedrich Beckers, *Die Profanbaukunst des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen* (Greifswald, 1914), 32–33.

16 Conrad Steinbrecht, *Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen*, vol. 2: *Preußen zur Zeit der Landmeister* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1888), 119, note 250: "Übernahme der moslemischen Baugewohnheiten".

17 Karl Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Bildhauerkunst im Deutschordensland Preußen*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1939), 37.

18 Teresa Mroczko, "Ruch budowlany na ziemi chełmińskiej", in *Sztuka i ideologia XIII wieku. Materiały Sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Warszawa 5 i 6 IV 1971*, ed. Piotr Skubiszewski (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974), 281–332; Teresa Mroczko, *Architektura gotycka na ziemi chełmińskiej* (Warszawa: PWN, 1980); Kazimierz Pospieszny, "Tortosa (Syrien) und Lucera (Apulien), die ideale Residenz-Kastelle der Kreuzzügezeit. Eine Untersuchung nach militärischen Aspekten", *Château Gaillard* 19 (2000), 243–246; Kazimierz Pospieszny, "Das Palastkastell Friedrichs II. in Lucera. Kaiserliches Residenz-Ideal in der Zeit der Kreuzzüge?", in *Kunst der Stauferzeit im Rheinland und in Italien, Akten der 2. Landauer Staufertagung*, ed. Volker Herzner, Jürgen Krüger and Franz Staab (Speyer: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2003), 195–208; Kazimierz Pospieszny, *Domus Malbork. Zamek krzyżacki w typie regularnym* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014).

19 Niels von Holst, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Bauten – Von Jerusalem bis Sevilla, von Thorn bis Narwa* (Berlin–Mannheim: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981), 57nn.

20 Niels von Holst, "Zum frühen Burgenbau des Deutschen Ritterordens in Spanien und Preußen" *Burgen und Schlösser* 21.1 (1980), 15–20, here p. 19: "Großer Trupp islamischer Bauleute".

21 Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 2 (Bonn: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967); see also Marian Arszyński, *Budownictwo warowne zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (1230–1454)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995).

22 I have listed 17 such theories: Tomasz Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1998), 295–297; see also Tomasz Torbus, "The Architecture of the Castles of the Teutonic Order State of Prussia", in *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders. New Studies*, ed. Mathias Piana and Christer Carlsson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 219–249.

23 For Dehio on Apulia, see: Georg Dehio, "Die Kunst Unteritaliens in der Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs II", in *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (München–Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1914), 101–119; for von Holst on Spain, see: Niels von Holst, "Zum frühen Burgenbau des Deutschen Ritterordens in Spanien und Preußen" Burgen und Schlösser 21.1 (1980), 15–20; for Beckers on the Crusader states, see Friedrich Beckers, *Die Profanbaukunst…* (as in note 15); for Lindemann on Thuringia, see Erich Lindemann, "Zur Frage der Herkunft des rechteckigen Planschemas bei den Burgen des Deutschen Ritterordens" in *L'Architecture monastique,* special issue of the *Bulletin des Relations Artistiques, France–Allemagne* (Mayence 1951); and for Durdík on Bohemia, see Tomáš Durdík, "Mitteleuropäische Kastelle – ein mögliches Vorbild der Ordensburgenarchitektur im Baltikum. The Central European Castells – a Possible Model for the Order Castle Architecture in the Baltic", *Castella Maris Baltici* 1 (1993), 45–50.

24 Jean Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale. De la défence à la résidence*, vol. 1–2 (Paris: Picard, 1991–1993); Jean Mesqui, "La fortification de croisés au temps de Saint Louis au Proche-Orient", *Bulletin Monumental* 164.1 (2006), 5–29; Carl A. Willemsen, "Die Bauten Kaiser Friedrichs II. in Süditalien", in *Die Zeit der Staufer.* Katalog der Ausstellung im Württembergischen Landesmuseum 1977, vol. 3, ed. Reiner Haussherr (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1979), 143–163; Robin Fedden and John Thomson. *Kreuzfahrerburgen im Heiligen Land* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1959); Arnold Joseph Taylor, "The King's Works in Wales 1277–1330", in *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 1, ed. Howard Montagu Colvin (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), 293–408, Appendix 1027–1040.

25 Thomas Biller, "Die Johanniterburg Belvoir am Jordan. Zum frühen Burgenbau der Ritterorden im Heiligen Land", *Architectura. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 19 (1989), 105–136; see also Hubert Houben, "Castles and Towers of the Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean", in *Castelos das Ordens Militares. Actas do Encontro Internacional (Tomar, 10 a 13 Outubro de 2012), Direção-Geral do Património Cultural, coord. cient. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: DGPC, 2013), 59–72.

26 The etymology of the name is unknown – it may reflect a peculiar sense of humour on the part of the Teutonic Knights, who may have chosen this name to associate toilets with the proud (in their eyes arrogant) city of Gdańsk. More recently. a theory has been formulated that the elaborate *Gdansker* toilets gave their name to the *danskers* of the Teutonic Knights: https://www.trojmiasto.pl/wiadomosci/Sekrety-wychodkow-dawnych-gdanszczan-w-Gdyni-n52092.html#tri; https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_Gdańska.

27 Reinhard Schmitt, "Der Nordturm der Erstanlage als ‚Dansker'", in *Der Crac des Chevaliers*, Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, Sonderband 3, zugleich Publikationen des Deutschen Burgenmuseums 3, ed. Thomas Biller (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2006), 119–135.

28 Tomasz Torbus, "Anmerkungen zu den Verzierungsformen aus Glasur und schwarz gebrannten Köpfen an den Deutschordensburgen – eine Bestandsaufnahme, Klassifizierung und der Versuch, ihre Herkunft zu bestimmen", in *Castle and Church. Materiały 5. Konferencji 'Castrum Bene' 20–24 maja 1996*, ed. Leszek Kajzer and Henryk Paner (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, 1996), 219–238.

29 Ferdinand von Quast, Beiträge zur Geschichte… (as in note 14); Ferdinand von Quast, *Denkmale der Baukunst in Preußen*, vol. 1: *Ermland*. Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1852.
30 See Steinbrecht 1888, p. 191, note 250 (as in note 16).
31 Forstreuter, *Deutscher Orden im Mittelmeer…* (as in note 21); Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009).

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12 Late medieval networks of faith

The West and the East. Fortified urbanity and religion in fifteenth-century illuminations produced in France

Sabina Madgearu

While working on my PhD thesis titled *Visions of Medieval Castles in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Illuminations Produced in France*, I noticed in the illuminations I was studying, as many other researchers had done in their objects of study before me, that there was a close relationship between the emergence of castles/walled towns and the Christendom network in Europe and also the Middle East, where pilgrimages or passages had taken people from many territories/countries of Europe.[1] What I, therefore, pursue herein is the manifestation of such networks in the said illuminations, and I would like to state from the start that this paper incorporates fragments of the doctoral dissertation mentioned above.

The idea of urban networks in the Middle Ages is not new and has been postulated by previous researchers. Due to the subject of my research, I will herein rely on François Neveux's conclusions at the end of his study dedicated to the medieval towns of Normandy: the formation of an urban network is defined by identifying all its members/elements and understanding the relations among them, their relative importance and population.[2] In the same manner, I herein probe the existence of two examples of religious networks: one positioned in the West and the other rooted in the East. Moreover, I explore how these networks interconnect and how representations of medieval castles in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminations produced in France collocate with representations of churches, cathedrals, and chapels to mirror two interdependent systems of power: temporal authority (the king and the nobility) and the dominance of the clergy.

To attain this goal, I rely on the statistical analysis conducted in my PhD thesis on a corpus of illuminations[3] showing the castles/walled towns of France and on a separate corpus which I refer to as the castles of the East. This delineation was solely meant to make the analysis of the said corpuses easier, for, in fact, I came to the conclusion that they were not separated but, on the contrary, the Eastern network mirrored the Western one.

Analysing the illuminations from a statistical point of view led to a somewhat foregone conclusion: that there was a propensity to represent those

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castles/walled towns that were either bishoprics or archbishoprics. My observation could have been anticipated due particularly to the nature of the primary sources (which I chose to be chronicles or travel accounts). The Middle Ages created a sort of a hierarchy of castles/walled towns which relied upon each other based on both temporal and religious/spiritual relations.

The map of Normandy in Figure 1 of Neveux's earlier cited article reveals that a dense urban network was already in place in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In this network, I was able to identify the following castles/walled towns which also appear in the illuminations in my corpus of study: Bricquebec, Valognes, Cherbourg, Bayeux, Caen, Falaise, Argentan, Alencon, Lisieux, Harfleur, Honfleur, Bêlleme, Verneuil, Dieppe, Rouen, Evreux, and Château-Gaillard. Four of them are episcopal towns: Bayeux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Evreux.

To highlight the religious subordination of the castles represented in the corpus of study, I drafted a sample table which also makes it easier to see the political power these castles had, not only in real life but also in the reality of the chronicle; their representation was instrumental to conveying the order and obedience they imposed in real life. Through these castles, medieval society perpetuated, via ecclesiastical power, the Gallo-Roman administrative order: each of the 17 large political provinces was headed by a metropolitan bishop who coordinated 115 diocesan bishops, each one quartered in a city or secondary territorial division organized by Roman authority in Gaul. It was Charles VII who, after regaining Guyenne, had a list made of the cities – bishoprics and archbishoprics – which did not differ much from that of ancient cities in the Gallo-Roman regions. Manuscript Français 5930 folios 21 and 22 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France contains one of these lists, which comprised ten archbishoprics and 84 bishoprics, and on the basis of this the following table can be drawn up to serve as an example and demonstrate religious urban hierarchy.[4]

Table 12.1 Religious subordination in Normandy as shown in the corpus of illuminations

Castle/walled town	*Number of illuminations showing the castle/walled town*	*Bishopric*	*Archbishopric*
Bayeux	2	yes	Rouen
Dieppe	1		
Evreux	2	yes	Rouen
Falaise	2		
Harfleur	1		
Honfleur	1		
Lisieux	1	yes	Rouen
Rouen	12		Rouen
…	…	…	….

Since a central military organization was only incipient at that time in France (not that France had not had a military organization before, but then it started being restructured around a centre), royal power still relied on ecclesiastical organizations for its preservation and perpetuation, partially because another part of the royal power subsisted on medieval feudal connections: vassals (*hommes liges*). Following the list of archbishoprics and bishoprics, Français 5930 also contains a list of the duchies and counties of the kingdom of France, plus the Peers of France, who include an archbishop and five bishops. The latter list is also a hierarchy mentioning the counts who were subordinate to dukes.[5]

How are all these data meaningful for our Norman network of faith? They attest that Rouen was a metropolitan see upon which bishoprics such as Lisieux, Bayeux and Evreux were dependent. Three other subordinate episcopal towns (Coutances, Avranches and Sées) are not represented in our corpus of illuminations.

Given that my investigation goes from castle/walled town to its religious interface and that the civilization of Western Europe was built on castles and cathedrals, a prominent issue to address is how the castle/walled town and cathedral/church/chapel collocate in illuminations. Let us first consider the example of **Rouen** – a religious hub in a local network. The surrender of Rouen in 1204 is depicted in Français 2623, folio 106bis. Unlike other renditions of Rouen, for instance in Français 5054, which does not show any ecclesiastical building, only battle scenes and processions offering Charles VII the keys to the town, this one provides a large view of the urban centre with the focus on its magnificent cathedral, which occupies centre-stage and parallels the two main characters of the scene. Rouen is also the setting for the stag miracle depicted in Français 5054, folio 185.

One of the dioceses subordinate to Rouen, **Lisieux**, can be seen in Français 5054, folio 157v, in another surrender scene (1449). Lisieux is only a castle gate but its status of episcopal town transpires through the presence of a bishop dressed in ceremonial attire, backing the bourgeois who offers Charles VII three keys. Français 5054, folio 195 depicts the siege of **Bayeux** in 1450, but nothing other than a building with a cross on the roof gives away its belonging to a religious network. The most evocative of the three is **Evreux** in Français 50, folio 364v, which illustrates the legend of St Taurin and the devil. The painting of miracles, supernatural creatures (the devil) and saints set against a background of episcopal castles/walled towns partakes of an important ideological undertone – that the religious substratum was essential to the development of that castle/walled town through the funds raised from pilgrimages and to the legitimacy of the central power (bishop or king).

Paris, which became the capital city of today's France in the Middle Ages, illustrates the network *topos* in a folio that paints the city as the meeting place of the West and the East in both lay and religious networks. Français 5594 folio 8v lines up in the row of illuminations that testify to medieval

historiography being inclined to cover event-driven history: the onlooker is regaled with the figure of Charlemagne receiving envoys from Constantinople. The turn of the eleventh century is the approximate time when a legend emerged about an alleged pilgrimage to Jerusalem undertaken by Charlemagne and his paladins, who are compared with the apostles and the Lord.[6] In addition to offering a good visualization of the social function of a castle/walled town, this folio renders Paris as the co-location of sacred and secular sites: the unmistakable Notre Dame Cathedral shares the horizon not only with the spire and silhouette of another cathedral, but also with towers that betray the presence of castles/fortified palatial constructions inside the curtain wall.

Vézelay is yet another walled town located in France which makes the connection between the West and the East in the late Middle Ages and also instances the juxtaposition in image and space of a walled town and religion. Thus, the episcopal town of Vézelay is pictured in Français 5594, folio 138, which brings to the fore another kingly figure – Louis VII – who started a crusade[7] from **Vézelay**. Originally a monastic foundation,[8] the episcopal town of Vézelay is the subject-matter of the typical medieval event-driven history marked by historic moments related to religion: the consecration of a part of the church by Pope Innocent III in 1132, the construction of the church itself[9] between 1120 and 1130, St Bernard preaching the Crusade in 1146, and the meeting between Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart in 1190 before their departure on the Third Crusade.[10]

Regardless of how truthful the circumstances of Louis VII's taking the cross at Vézelay may have been, there is one certainty about this event: Jean Colombe read and followed closely in folio 138 of Français 5594 the account given by Sébastien Mamerot. In Colombe's painting, the placement of the episcopal town of Vézelay is no artistic figure, but an authentic representation of the state of facts. Around Christmas 1145, the word that Bernard de Clairvaux[11] had been entreated by Pope Eugene III to preach a new crusade, which the latter had advocated himself on 1 December that same year, spread like wildfire. And since the Abbot of Clairvaux had earned fame as a charismatic speaker, a large mob gathered near Vézelay[12] to listen to his plea, and if they rallied in a valley near this celebrated pilgrimage site it was because the town would have been too small for such a huge number of people. This event foreshadows the Second Crusade. In memory of this sermon, the bishop of Vézelay founded a church of the Holy Cross on the slope of a hill close to Vézelay.[13]

A cosmopolitan town like La Rochelle in the Middle Ages, Vézelay must have been chosen as a point of departure due to the fact that the cult of Mary Magdalene attracted former prisoners and travellers from all over the world.[14] Moreover, it had been the cradle of the Mary Magdalene cult in medieval France which reached Switzerland and Italy,[15] a direct hint at a religious network overlapping an economic one, for pilgrimages transformed such towns into tourist hubs. Even though the cult of Mary Magdalene had not been born in Vézelay and can be traced back to the eighth century, it

was Vézelay that made the destiny of this cult, concomitantly ensuring for itself a salient place in the networks of places of worship dedicated to this evangelical character to whom Christ had granted forgiveness.

The representation of Vézelay in the said folio not only shows a walled town that stands near a body of water/stream in a lowland area but also includes a part perched on a hilltop – the Cluniac Church of St Mary Magdalene. It was fortified, as it had four towers and a *flèche*, and it had been built in an imposing Romanesque style (an expression of the hierarchical papal system) and looked like a fortress.[16] On the right side, and nearer than Vézelay itself, also high on an abrupt and rocky promontory, there seems to be another fortified monastery that looks like a round enclosure with circular, flat-roofed towers, one of which has a red roof and a very visible bell. It is usually the case with illuminations that what is on the right is an event subsequent to the main event chosen for illustration; in this folio, this second religious fortification could be the Church of the Holy Spirit built subsequently to commemorate the emotional commencement of the Second Crusade, which the text refers to as a "Holy Journey."[17] This is a visual expression of episcopal power (for the Church of the Holy Spirit was founded by the bishop of Vézelay) in terms of collective memory.[18]

As far as the documentary relevance of this folio is concerned, one can surmise that at least with respect to the siting of Vézelay, the painter did his best to represent it – an enclosure around a hill on which the fortified Church of St Mary Magdalene had been built. In terms of ideology, this is a well-chosen moment in the history of Vézelay: the sermon for the Second Crusade and the presence of two sanctified figures, Bernard of Clairvaux and Louis VII, another representative of divinity on earth. While generally considered by his contemporaries a weak king in contrast with his father, Louis VI, and his son, Philip Augustus, and being held accountable for many failures, such as the formation of the Plantagenet Empire, Louis VII will be otherwise remembered as the pilgrim king, his strategy of visiting sacred places reinforcing the legitimacy of the Capetian dynasty and augmenting his authority. Bernard of Clairvaux seems to have selected Vézelay given the fact that Louis VII had committed a sin which could only have been expiated after the penitence of a voyage to the Holy Land; thus, he placed Vézelay in a Christian grid of faith and his selection makes obvious a symbolic parallelism between Louis VII and Mary Magdalene.[19]

With reference to the Eastern network, one cannot begin its depiction without the *Civitas Dei*, Jerusalem – the model on earth of the heavenly order. An overwhelming number of illuminations contain the image of Jerusalem, a sign that the origin of Christianity fascinated medieval Europe as the most important place of pilgrimage of that time,[20] followed by Rome and Santiago de Compostela. It is also noteworthy that imagology studies dedicated to Jerusalem start with the celestial Jerusalem that appears in religious works in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[21] During the following centuries, Jerusalem will also be present in the iconography of chronicles

that are the object hereof. The stories recounted by pilgrims and Crusaders[22] who had visited the Holy City in the Middle Ages must have brought back to Europe information about several defining elements of the image of Jerusalem, several places through which Jerusalem could be identified not as a French fortified citadel but as a Middle Eastern city.[23]

Although painted in the background in **Français 406**, folio 144v, Jerusalem evinces an architectural feature that is part of its identity: a building with a hexagonal ground plan and a dome, which is also visibly represented in folio 137, most probably an image of the Dome of the Rock, an emblematic site for Judaism. Folio 178 of the same **Français 406** allows us to see inside a Jerusalem that is provided with three pepper-pot towers; however, the foreground is reserved to the wall of what seems to be a typical Catholic **cathedral**, recognizable for its windows with a wonderful rosace on top. Folio 181 of **Français 406** is meant to reveal to us the façade of the Temple, for which Jean Colombe chooses a light colour this time; nonetheless, the construction has the appearance of a **cathedral** with **Gothic** windows.

The Holy Sepulchre is pictured in two illuminations of Français 2810, folios 125 and 274, a manuscript that is a different type from the ones I have so far tackled: a travel journal. The two folios relate to two different accounts, the former belonging to Guillaume de Boldensele,[24] and the latter written by Ricoldo de Montecroce. It appears that the two illuminations were the work of different artists; the name of the first is recorded as Maître de la Mazarine, while the identity of the second painter is unknown. The **Holy Sepulchre** can be seen in both illuminations inside a circular building with a dome or with superimposed domes, which is in keeping with both current and past reality. It follows that **Jerusalem** arises from several illuminations like a sum of *loci sancti*, and not only does the architecture of these sites host rituals but it also glorifies and amplifies them.[25] Their architecture reflects that of their Western counterparts, which means that the east and the west are the two plates of the same scales and Jerusalem is the centre of both the Eastern and Western religious networks.

The most frequently represented episode related to Jerusalem, appearing in a total of 31 illuminations, is that of its siege and conquest in AD 70. The conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans acquires a new semiotics, as it is conceived like a victory in a crusade not like a war meant to bring glory to Caesar.[26] If we take into consideration the fact that the manuscripts in which these 31 illuminations are inserted were manufactured at the end of the Middle Ages, we can infer that they carried allusions to Christian ideology and doctrine that distorted the historical truth to justify the incursions into the Holy Land. In other words, we are dealing with sacrificing realism to ideology in these representations of the heart of Christendom. Art ceases to be mimesis, it only serves a purpose devoted to power and authority – religious power in theory, albeit manipulated by temporal power.

The representation of what must have been an Eastern network of walled towns and faith (in the Middle East and the Outremer) focuses

predominantly on Jerusalem with 168 images, followed at great distance by Constantinople (39 images) and Acre (26 images), Antioch (24 images) and Damietta (16 images). Together with better-known castles such as Nicaea, Tunis, Ascalon, Jaffa and Tyre also come more exotic names like Artah, Nish and Kibotos plus the ones bearing French names such as Springs of Cresson and Fonts Marets. However, these figures are only relative since they rely on the so-far digitised representations in the Mandragore database of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Few of these images reveal a religious component which renders the collocation castle-church (e.g., the representation of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople can be distinguished in only one illumination). South-Eastern Europe is poorly represented by only three castles/walled towns (Nicopolis, Nissa/Nish and Belgrade) in four images, which gives us a clue about the fact that this part of the continent was not included in the European network at the time.

The outcome of the conquest of the navel of Christianity had to be upheld by the creation of a system of sees (bishoprics and archbishoprics), which can be inferred from the simple enumeration of those present at the general council held in the city of Acre (24 June 1140): "Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Rorgo, bishop of Acre; Bernard, bishop of Sidon; William, bishop of Beirut; Adam, bishop of Banyas; Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem; Robert, Master of the Knights of the Temple; and Raymond, master of the Hospital." In addition, also present were Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, and Ives de Nesle from Soissons, France.[27]

Some of the points of this network of faith overlapped the ones in the defensive network reinforcing it: for instance, Nazareth, Acre (in the Near East), Lisieux and Soissons (from France). Furthermore, it was also pointed out that, starting in the mid-eleventh century, kings and emperors evinced an inclination to fortify episcopal cities[28] in exchange for their support and to the detriment of the local nobility, which testifies to a reconfiguration of religious and urban networks.

Notes

1 I refer to 'East' and 'West' in the terms these concepts were understood in the Middle Ages.
2 François Neveux, "*La constitution d'un réseau urbain en Normandie*", *Les Villes normandes au Moyen Âge* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2006), 45–60. http://books.openedition.org/puc/9445 (accessed 3 April 2021).
3 All illuminations are stored in digital form in the Mandragore database, accessible at http://mandragore.bnf.fr/ – the website of the Bibliotheque National de France, an institution to which many thanks are due.
4 It seems that the list did not survive the passing of time but its memory did. Gilles Le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris: 1908) (hereinafter Leroux, Gilles Le Bouvier), 133–134.
5 Leroux, Gilles Le Bouvier, 141.

6 According to *La Chanson du pelerinage du Charlemagne*. Gaston Paris, "La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne", *Romania* 33 (1880), 1–50. https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1880.6503; https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1880_num_9_33_6503 (accessed 19 July 2018).
7 Jean Flori, "Pour une redéfinition de la croisade", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, October–December 2004, 329–349. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/ccmed.2004.2891; https://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmed_0007–9731_2004_num_47_188_2891 (accessed 25 March 2019).
8 Founded by Girart de Roussillon; mentioned as *castellum* already in 877. Jean Lestocquoy, "Vézelay", *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 1 (1952), 65–74. https://doi.org/10.3406/ahess.1952.2032; https://www.persee.fr/doc/ahess_0395-2649_1952_num_7_1_2032 (accessed 30 November 2018). (hereinafter Lestocquoy, "Vézelay".)
9 "Historia Vizeliacensis Monasterii", lib. III, *Patrologia Latina*, 194, col. 1592.
10 Lestocquoy, "Vézelay".
11 A Cistercian monk, Bernard of Clairvaux was the reformer of his order, advocating simplicity and even severity. He failed to see the utility in painting and sculpture of fantastic creatures of the types that one can actually see in the Cluniac church of Vézelay. Unlike Cistercian churches built on plains and lowlands, as per the rules of the order, the Madelaine Church of Vézelay was characterized as a typical monastic church, located on top of a hill, therefore dominating the houses of the town. See Walter Pater, *Vézelay, essai d'histoire d'art religieux* (Avallon: Imprimerie de la Revue de l'Yonne, 1924) (hereinafter Pater, *Vézelay*), 5.
12 Which became a commune seven years later in 1152 as a result of an insurrection of the bourgeois, supported by the count of Nevers, against religious power. The movement brought about a weakening of the bishop's authority in favour of temporal power. Félix Bourquelot, "Observations sur l'établissement de la commune de Vézelay", *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 13 (1852), 447–463, https://www.persee.fr/doc/bec_0373–6237_1852_num_13_1_445069 (accessed 2 October 2018).
13 Sébastien Mamerot, *A Chronicle of the Crusades. The Expeditions to Outremer*, ed. Thierry Delcourt, Fabrice Masanès and Danielle Quéruel (Köln: Taschen, 2016) (hereinafter Mamerot, *Chronicle*), 412.
14 Lestocquoy, "Vézelay".
15 Jean Marilier (reviewer), Victor Saxer "Le culte de Marie-Madeleine en Occident, des origines à la fin du moyen âge", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* (January–March/1963), 70–72, https://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmed_0007-9731_1963_num_6_21_1262_t1_0070_0000_2 (accessed 24 March 2019).
16 Pater, *Vézelay*, 6.
17 Mamerot, *Chronicle*, 412.
18 Peter Coss, Chris Dennis, Melissa Julian-Jones and Angelo Silvestri (eds), *Episcopal Power and Local Society in Medieval Europe. 900–1400* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 13.
19 Aryeh Graboïs, "Louis VII pèlerin", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 192 (1988), 5–22. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/rhef.1988.3425; https://www.persee.fr/doc/rhef_0300-9505_1988_num_74_192_3425 (accessed 13 April 2018).
20 An itinerary of such a pilgrimage undertaken by the Seigneur of Caumont (Gascony) in 1418 is to be found in Appendix III of Le Bouvier, *Le livre*.
21 See, for example, Mireille Mentré, "L'image de la Jérusalem céleste dans l'iconographie des XI et XIIe siècles", *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople: l'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses de l'Universite de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), 17–22 (hereinafter Poirion, *Jerusalem, Rome,*

Constantinople). The author analyses the image of Jerusalem as it appears in illumination in the *Commentaria in Apocalipsin L. XII* manuscripts by Beatus and distinguishes between several types of descriptions of this citadel: Jerusalem as city of the Lamb, as new heaven and as new earth, as house of God and a multitude of angels. It is an image that lets us see the tradition of recurrent Christian representations in medieval iconography imbued with patristic speculations or hints at the Old Testament.

22 There was a time when 'pilgrim' was synonymous with 'crusader,' therefore one should forgive the writer what may seem a pleonastic construction. The term 'crusade,' at least in English, was coined in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Until the thirteenth century, the crusade was another form of pilgrimage for which the terms used were *passagium, passagium generale, expedition crucis, peregrinatio*. Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6 (hereinafter Yeager, *Jerusalem*).

23 François Robin, "Jérusalem dans la peinture franco-flamande (XIII–XVe siècles). Abstractions, fantaisies et réalités", in Poirion, *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, 33–50.

24 The patron of William of Boldensele (real name Otto de Nyenhusen) was Hélie de Talleyrand, Cardinal of Périgord, the peacemaker after the battle of Maupertuis. Pol Jouteau, *Chauvigny et les Chauvinois* (Lezay: Imprimerie A. Chopin, 1933), 85.

25 Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 1 (2003), 4–23, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3655081 (accessed 24 April 2013).

26 This is also the meaning transmitted by *The Siege of Jerusalem*, an anonymous fourteenth-century *roman*, as per Yeager, *Jerusalem*, 12.

27 William Archbishop of Tyr, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 185.

28 David M. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century,* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 89.

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